Maipure

Raoul Zamponi

Before the arrival of European missionaries in the Orinoco basin region, the Maipure constituted a small ethnic entity in the area of the upper course of the Orinoco River (Amazonas State, Venezuela). Their speech-from the Maipuran or Arawakan stock-was also probably employed in this zone as a medium of communication among individuals of different languages. But by 1767, most of the Maipure had been brought together by the Jesuits into two missions along the middle course of the Orinoco, together with members of other ethnic groups, in order to facilitate their conversion to Christianity. At this time the use of Spanish became predominant among this people and their own language ceased to be spoken.

The author's intention with this contribution is to present all the knowledge that he has been able to gather from all the surviving material on this little known, extinct language of South America. The present sketch, therefore, contains chapters on phonology and morphosyntax, as well as the two available Maipure texts (with a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis) and also a word list in the form of an appendix. The introductory sections deal with the socio- and geolinguistic situations, the genetic affinities, and issues of languages contact (with neighbouring languages and Spanish). In these sections, one can also find a discussion on Avane, a closely related language (or, perhaps, a co-dialect) once spoken along the banks of the Autana and Sipapo Rivers that went out of use in the same period, and for the same reasons, as Maipure.

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List of abbreviations and symbols

A	subject (agent) of a transitive verb
ATTR	attributive
AUG	augmentative
C	consonant
CL	classifier
CLOS	stem closure
CONT	continuative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DS	different subject referent
EMPH	emphasis
f.	feminine
FUT	future
IMP	impersonal
INTERJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
IRR	irrealis
It.	Italian
NEG	negative
nf., NF	non-feminine
NOMLZR	nominalizer
NOM-PAST	nominal past
NP	noun phrase
NPOSS	non-possessed
O, O_{dir}	direct object
O_{ind}	indirect object
p.	person
pl., PL	plural
P-M	Proto-Maipuran
POSS	possessive
PRIV	privative
REL	relative
S_a	subject of an intransitive active verb
S_o	subject of an intransitive stative verb
sg.	singular
Sp.	Spanish
TAG	tag-question marker
v., V	verb
V	vowel
VBLZR	verbalizer
WH	WH-question marker
Y/N	neutral yes/no-question marker
Ø	zero, null realization
( )	added grapheme
[ ]	superfluous grapheme
{ }	corrected grapheme
?	uncertain
??	unknown

Map
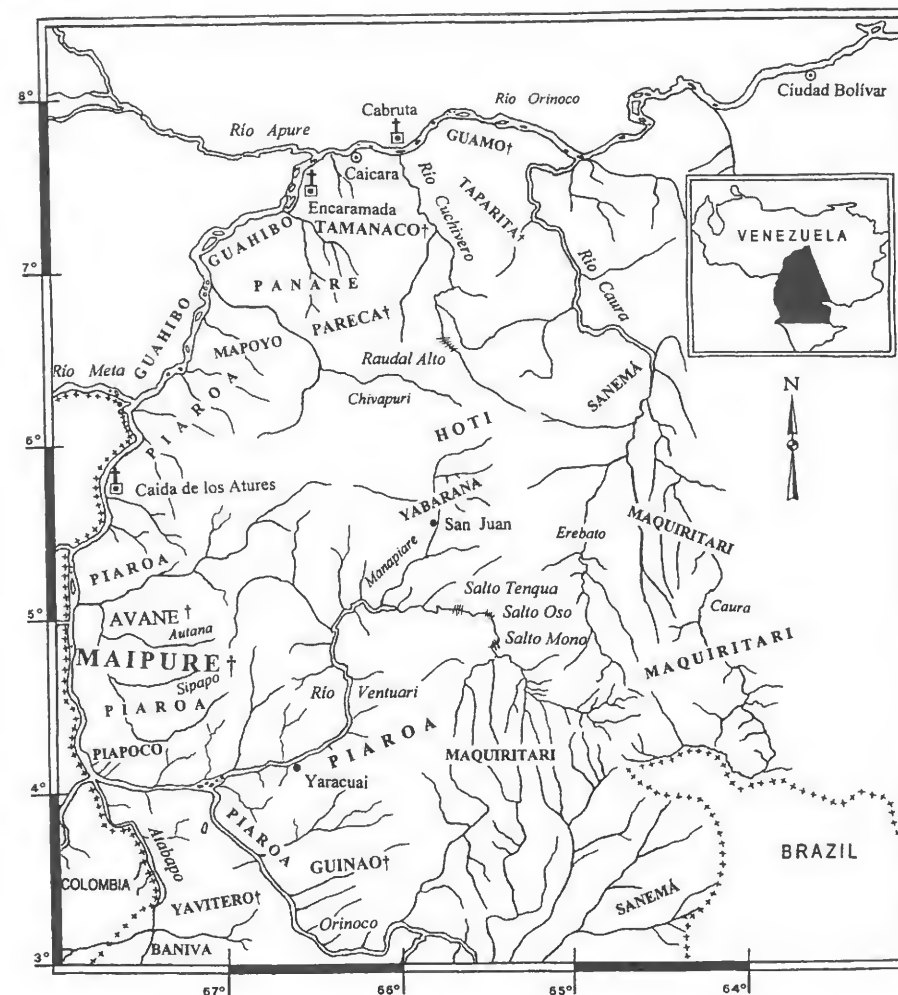
1 Introduction[1]

1.1 Socio- and geolinguistic data

Maipure ([maipúli jukuálɛ], lit. 'language of the Maipure', Sp. *Maypure*, It. *Maipure*[2]) was spoken along the banks of the Ventuari, Sipapo, and Autana (Auvana) Rivers in the present day Amazonas State of Venezuela until 1767. By this time most of the Maipure people had already been brought together by the Jesuits—along with members of other native groups (the Maipuran Avane and Yavitero and the Cariban Tamanaco) in order to facilitate conversion—into two *reducciones* (villages) along the middle course of the Orinoco River: Caida de los Atures and Encaramada.[3] In these settlements, due to the conditions of cultural destruction, acculturation, and multilingualism in which the Maipure found themselves, the language disappeared rather quickly, and was completely replaced by Spanish within a few generations. The Maipure language also declined rapidly among the small groups of Maipure who had escaped deportation, largely—I suppose—as a consequence of a lack of social cohesion. The small groups in question are reported to have existed in 1767 along the banks of the Upper Orinoco, the Río Negro, and the Amazon ("Marañon") (Hervás y Panduro 1787*b*:67).

It is possible that, until the mid-eighteenth century, the language of the Maipure even functioned as an interlingual medium of communication among linguistically diverse native groups of the Upper Orinoco. However, it did not serve as a sociolinguistic buffer which provided native peoples with protection against outside intrusion, nor was it adopted by the Jesuits as the missionary or church lingua franca for the area.

> La loro lingua siccome facilissima ad imparare, è divenuta tra tutti gli Orinochesi una lingua di moda; e chi poco, chi molto, chi mediocremente, chi bene, la parlano quasi tutti (Gilij 1781:43).

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[1] I am grateful to Luciano Giannelli and Anthony Mattina for comments on previous drafts of this work and, for the revision of my English, to Eithne Carlin and Tania Strahan. I would also like to thank Michael Kenstowicz for his assistance with the chapter on phonology and María Eugenia Villalón for making unpublished material on two Maipuran languages of Venezuela available to me. Comments, on almost every page of a previous draft, also came from Alexandra Aikhenvald, without whose support (before and during my stay at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology at La Trobe University in Melbourne) I would have never completed this publication. The errors of style and substance that remain are, no doubt, my own.

[2] In Spanish, an unstressed [i] in word-final position is extremely rare. This explains the orthographic representation <Maypure> for [maipúli] that we find in the old Spanish sources mentioning this language (e.g. Gumilla 1745). In Italian, a noun with a final unstressed [i] is masculine plural and this explains the occurrence in the Italian sources (see §1.2) of <Maipùri> only as a plural noun (and adjective), alongside the singular form <Maipùre> (with -[e] in place of -[i]).

[3] The Maipure were transferred to Caida de los Atures along with Avane and Yavitero ("Parene") people and to Encaramada along with Avane and Tamanaco people. Gilij (1780:130) estimates that, in around 1767, there were less than 2,000 Maipure. For more ethnographic data on the Maipure, see Gilij (1781, 1782), Mooney (1913), and Bueno (1933).

Non ha l'Orinoco veruna lingua, che tutti universalmente capiscano. Ma la lingua de' Maipùri, facile sopra tutte le Orinochesi, e galante, si potrebbe render comune, se si volesse. Gl' Indiani dell'alto Orinoco per lo più la sanno tutti. Quei del basso, essendovi tra loro de' Maipùri, l'imparano facilmente. Infatti non v'è riduzione alcuna di quelle, che già appartennero a' Gesuiti, nella quale non sia giovevole questa lingua; e non sapendo comunemente le altre, capiscono molti almen questa. I soldati stessi, e le loro famiglie vi parlano molto bene. Onde, se levar si volesse l'ostacolo di tante lingue, e scemare a' missionarj il travaglio, questa lingua sarebbe assai approposito per farne una generale (Gilij 1782:199).[4]

The name Maipure or, more exactly, [maipúli] probably comes from the Carib (Kari'na) term for 'tapir'.[5] A joking term that has been used by the Avane, a neighbouring group, for the Maipure people is *Metimetikini*. This term perhaps alludes to the frequent polysyllabicity of Maipure words (see §2.5.2).[6]

. . . gli Avani, più di ogni altra nazione, fan pompa del loro gergo; e alludendo alla natura del parlare de' Maipuri, gli chiamano per ischerno *Metimetichini*, formando con questa voce un'effige delle diverse sillabe, delle quali costan le voci de' Maipuri (Gilij 1782:203).

Gilij (1782), the most important source describing the speech of the Maipure, contains further general comments on the language, but these provide neither concrete information on its structure nor do they help to understand how it sounded. One such comment refers to a perceptible division into syllables of the linear phoneme-strings of speech.

I *Tamanachi* hanno un parlare piuttosto molle ed effeminato; quello de' *Maipùri* è corrente e gajo, e staccato a maraviglia ogni sillaba (p. 158).

In other passages of the book, Gilij states that when the words of Maipure are combined into connected speech, the pronunciation of their individual segments remain unchanged and that the language is easy to learn having substantially "little grammar" (especially when compared with the language of the Tamanaco).

La lingua de' *Maipùri* è più rigida [della Tamanaca]; e non v'è caso, in cui scemi, o scorci un tantino le sue parole: ma quali son separatamente, e da per sé sole pigliate; tali ancor sono unite insieme, e disposte studiosamente in un senso (p. 151).

. . . la lingua de' *Tamanachi* richiede una fatica enormissima nell'imparare i verbi . . . ha universalmente tanta difficoltà, che in quel tempo, che la *Tamanaca* s'impara, di lingue simili alla *Maipùre* potrebbero impararsene anche dieci (p. 171).

La lingua Maipùre, benché giusta [*sic*] il comun pensare sia vezzosa, ed espressiva oltre ogni altra Orinochese, non è nondimeno sì vasta come la Tamanaca, né bisogna di tante regole (p. 185).

E' maestosa la lingua de' *Tamanachi*, abbondante di declinazioni varie, e di congiugazioni diverse. Ed in questo non sono certo migliori le nostre lingue. Siccome dinanzi dicemmo, non è così copiosa la lingua de' Maipùri: è brevissima anzi che nò [*sic*]. Ma ciò non toglie un punto della sua leggiadria, né di quella stima, in cui è meritevole presso di tutti (p. 192).

The relative morphological simplicity of Maipure which Gilij refers to and which emerges from a comparison with genetically related languages (e.g. Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako) is, as far as is

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[4] Italian and Spanish quotations will not be translated, in the interest of space.

[5] Carib *maipu:ri* (Proto-Cariban *matʃipuri; Girard 1971:278). The Meepure, another group once located along the Ventuari River (Gilij 1782:35), said to be linguistically close to the Maipure (see §1.3.1), presumably also get their name from Carib *maipu:ri*.

[6] Note that in Maipure *-kini* is the second half of the discontinuous attributive affix (see §3.1.2.7.2). Observe also that the nickname *Metimetikini* contains two sound combinations that Avane does not normally allow: [ţi] and [ki] (see §1.4).

know, also an intrinsic characteristic of its closest known linguistic relatives: Yavitero and Baniva (of Guaina) (see Aikhenvald 1998:229).

1.2 Sources of information

The linguistic material forming the basis of the present study of the Maipure language dates from the second half of the eighteenth century. It is material supplied by three volumes of the copious work *Saggio di storia americana* (Rome, 1780–1784, 4 vols.) of the Italian Jesuit Filippo Salvatore (Salvadore) Gilij (1721–1789), who was a missionary among the Maipure and Tamanaco from 1749 to 1767[7] and was himself a competent speaker of their languages; or obtained from him by his well-known Spanish brother Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809) and published by the latter in four volumes of the encyclopaedic work *Idea dell'Universo* (Cesena, Italy, 1778–1792, 22 vols.).[8] There are, therefore, no linguistic differences in the Maipure of these documents.

The two major sources, which I will label M1 and M2, are the following.

- M1: Gilij (1782) provides us with a general description of the languages of the area of the Orinoco, mainly Tamanaco (see note 31) and Maipure (*Delle lingue degli Orinochesi*), which represents the third part of the work (*Libro Terzo*). In particular, it provides us with a discussion on the origins of Orinoco languages and their (fortuitous) lexical similarities with the languages of the Old World, as well as notes on phonetics and morphology, a concise examination of Orinoco languages' genetic relationships, a grammatical sketch of Tamanaco and a shorter one of Maipure, a text translated into both Tamanaco and Maipure, and word lists in Tamanaco, Maipure, and other American languages.

Libro Terzo: Delle lingue degli Orinochesi. I. Della loro origine, e del modo di ritrovarne il rapporto con quelle del nostro continente. II. Se le lingue degli Orinochesi sieno somiglianti alle nostre. III. Delle parole Orinochesi somiglianti alle nostre. IV. Osservazioni generali sulle lingue dell'Orinoco. V. Della pronunzia delle lingue Orinochesi. VI. Osservazioni più particolari sulle lingue Orinochesi; ove trattasi delle parti dell'orazione, e primariamente del nome. VII. De' pronomi, de' verbi, e de' participj. VIII. Dell'altre parti dell'orazione. IX. Saggio della lingua Tamanaca. X. Saggio della lingua Maipure. XI. Riflessioni sulle lingue Orinochesi. XII. Se le lingue Orinochesi sien molte? XIII. Saggio di due brevi ragionamenti nelle lingue degli Orinochesi (pp. 135–211).

Catalogo di alcune voci in cinque lingue matrici dell'Orinoco per conoscerne la diversità (pp. 212–13).[9]

Cataloghi di alcune lingue Americane per farne il confronto tra loro, e con queste del nostro emisfero (pp. 355–85).[10]

The chapter entitled *Saggio della lingua Maipure* is a six-page description of Maipure morphology in terms of Latin grammar, a framework which causes a certain degree of distortion. Very little information may be obtained from the other two parts of the work or from its appendices, which contain only few words and fragments of the language.

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[7] I.e. the year the Jesuits were expelled from all the lands of the Crown of Spain.

[8] For information about Gilij and his *Saggio di storia americana*, see del Rey Fajardo (1971, 1:331–52), Olza (1992), and Villalón (1995). For biobibliographical information on Hervás y Panduro, see in particular Caballero (1868). For a survey of Gilij's and Hervás y Panduro's contribution to comparative linguistics, see Campbell (1997:31–34).

[9] 15 items in Saliva, Yaruro, Tamanaco, Maipure, and Otomaco.

[10] The languages of these "catalogues" are Classical Quechua, Classical Nahuatl, Chiquit(an)o, Guaraní, Lule, Vilela, Kadiwéu (Mbaya), Mojo, Omagua, Tamanaco, Maipure, Saliva, Mapuche (Araucanian), Huron, and Algonquin.

- M2: Hervás y Panduro (1787b:110–11) contains a translation of the Lord's Prayer accompanied by a few grammatical notes.

  There are two other minor sources.

- M3: Gilij (1780) includes, interspersed throughout, names of flora and fauna and some sentences.

- M4: Gilij (1781) contains scattered words and sentences, but also an account of the counting system (pp. 333–35).

  Six further sources fail to provide additional grammatical data on Maipure.

- M5: Hervás y Panduro (n.d.a) is essentially a rewrite of chapters IV–VI of the third part of M1 on the Orinoco languages.[11]

- M6: Hervás y Panduro (n.d.b) is essentially a rewrite of the abovementioned *Saggio della lingua Maipure*.[12]

- M7: Hervás y Panduro (1786:104) records the numerals from 'one' to 'six', and 'ten', 'eleven', and 'twenty', which are also in M4, plus 'forty' and 'sixty'.

- M8: Hervás y Panduro (1785) provides us with six words and an obviously inaccurate verb paradigm which are not present in the other sources, plus another 22 words (*Tavola aggiunta Numero XI. al paragrafo 98, Numero XII. al numero 98, Numero XIII. al numero 98*).

- M9: Hervás y Panduro (1787a) includes a 59-word list the basis of which is Gilij's "catalogue" of 194 lexical items in M1: 51 items are common to both word lists; only three do not appear attested elsewhere.

- M10: The seventh book of Alexander von Humboldt's *Voyage aux Régions Equinoxiales du Nouveau Continent* (work first published in Paris in 1805–1834 in 35 volumes) contains scraps of Maipure and Yavitero ("Parene"; see note 16) in the form of a short comparative word list (chapter 21). The Maipure items included were taken by the famous German naturalist and explorer from Gilij's and Hervás y Panduro's writings, but seven words, added in parentheses, were recorded by Humboldt himself in 1800 from a young Maco man who knew the language. Note, however, that only four of these forms find an exact equivalent in the remaining Maipure material in our possession; and that altogether three words appear phonotactically improbable in Maipure (viz. at least badly transcribed) because of their unexpected consonant endings (see §2.5.1): *kiepurig* 'sun', *popetas* 'one', *yalivac* 'four' (Gilij, respectively: *chiè*, *papèta*, *apèapèchipachì*).

1.3 External relationships

1.3.1 Maipure and the Maipuran languages

It was Father Filippo Salvatore Gilij who first perceived the genetic relationship between Maipure and a number of languages (including Avane,[13] Cavere,[14] Guipunave,[15] and Yavitero ("Parene")[16]

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[11] A Spanish translation of this work appears in del Rey Fajardo (1971, 2:289–310).

[12] del Rey Fajardo (1971, 2) also contains a Spanish translation of this manuscript (pp. 311–16) erroneously entitled "Elementos gramaticales de la lengua yarura".

[13] See §1.4.

[14] Cavere (Cabere, Cabre) was once spoken along the Guaviare River (Colombia; cf. M3, p. 130) and, probably on the basis of geographical proximity, has been placed by Loukotka (1968:130) in the same subgroup containing Achagua, Piapoco, and Amarizana (the Caquetio grouping). The data available in

spoken within the areas of the Orinoco, the Río Negro, and the Amazon ("Maragnone") basins. He also realized that the ancestor of this group of languages no longer existed, except in the form of its descendant languages.

> Dicasi proporzionalmente de' *Maipuri*. Chi sa la loro lingua, può di leggieri parlare cogli *Avani*. Stenterà più a capire i *Càveri*, i *Guipunàvi*, i *Pareni* e gli altri. Ma il fondo di queste lingue è il medesimo, come il medesimo è quello, onde il nostro favellare deriva, e quello de' Francesi (M1, p. 202).

However, in the following passage, the language of the Maipure is also considered by Gilij to be a language of which Avane, Cavere, Guipunave, Yavitero, and cognate varieties (Meepure,[17] Quirrupa,[18] Achagua,[19] and others) are simply dialectal variations.

> La [lingua] *Maipùre* ha i seguenti [dialetti], l'*Avane*, il *Meepùre*, il *Càvere*, il *Parène*, il *Guipunàve*, il *Chirrùpa*, e molti altri linguaggi nascosti nell'alto Orinoco, nel Rio-Negro, e nel Maragnone. E' certo in oggi, e così pensollo ancora il Gumilla è certo dico, che l'*Acciàgua* è un dialetto del *Maipùre* (M1, p. 205).[20]

At any rate, this statement of the missionary became the basis for the subsequent application of the term "Maipuran" (or the less common "Maipurean" as in Suárez 1974 and Kaufman 1993) to a grouping (stock) of undoubtedly related speech forms, also known in the literature as Arawak(an), that altogether contains about 65 documented languages (Campbell 1997:178) (the largest number of languages belonging to a single group in South America) and geographically spans four countries of Central America—Belize, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua—and seven of South America—Bolivia, Guyana, French Guiana, Suriname, Colombia, Peru, Brazil (and formerly Argentina and Paraguay) (Aikhenvald 1999:65). (The basic subgrouping of Maipuran shown in fig. 1 is that proposed in Kaufman 1993.)

Gilij's *Saggio di storia americana* indicate a possible affiliation with the languages of the Northern division of Maipuran (see fig. 1) but, because there are only three words recorded for Cavere in this source—<Purrùnaminàri> 'supreme being' or, simply, the name of a cultural hero also present in the mythical stories of the Maipure, Avane, Guipunave (M3, p. 6), Achagua (see Rivero 1883:113), and Piapoco (see González Ñáñez 1989:77), <scema> 'tobacco', and <sciapa> 'mountain' (M1, p. 202; <sc(i)> = [ʃ]; Maipure *jéma* and *jápa*, Baniwa of Içana *dzéma* and *hídzapa*, Guarequena *déma* and *dápa*)—I suggest that Cavere should remain unclassified on a lower taxonomic level.

[15] Another extinct language spoken around 1760 by 200 or 300 people located along the left bank of the Orinoco and along the Guaviare and Atabapo Rivers (Colombia). Its only recorded words, at least by Gilij, besides <Purrùnaminàri> (M3, p. 6; see note 14), are a greeting, <bare nau> (see §1.6.2); a Spanish loan, <cujarùta> 'paper' (< *carta*); and three nouns that appear to belong to a Northern Maipuran language, <dema> 'tobacco' (M1, p. 202), <dapa> 'mountain' (M1, p. 202), and <unè> 'k.o. skin disease' (M3, p. 62), incidentally two of which, <dema> and <dapa> are identical to their Guarequena (Guarequena-Mandahuaca sub-branch) equivalents.

[16] A recently extinct language, closely related to Maipure (see fig. 3), once spoken in the Atabapo basin in the border area of Venezuela, Colombia, and Brazil. The last known speaker died in 1984.

[17] This "dialect", once spoken along the Ventuari River, has disappeared leaving no data.

[18] Still another extinct language once spoken, as well as Maipure, along the Venezuelan river of Autana (cf. M3, p. 128). No data exists for it, except perhaps the name of a skin disease (Sp. *carate*), <unè>, an item shared with Maipure, Avane, and Guipunave (see note 15 and table 2).

[19] See §1.6.2.

[20] Really, although the Spanish Jesuit José Gumilla (1688–1750) perceived lexical similarities between Achagua and Maipure, he attributed these resemblances entirely to borrowing, excluding the possibility of a common origin: ". . . de la [lengua] Achagua, aunque es la más pronunciable, suave y elegante de todas, . . . no se han descubierto lenguajes derivados; porque, aunque en la lengua maypure se hallan muchas palabras achaguas, son introducidas por el comercio, como los gracalismos de la lengua latina, que se introdujeron con el estudio de las ciencias y facultades que en ella se explican" (Gumilla [1745] 1945:298).
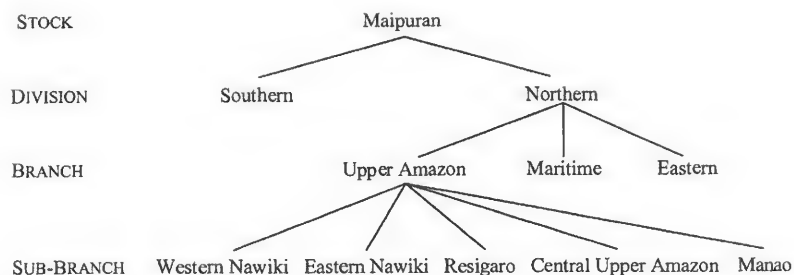
FIGURE 1: THE NORTHERN DIVISION OF MAIPURAN LANGUAGES

Within Maipuran, Maipure is said by Kaufman (1993:57) to be one of the few members of the Central Upper Amazon sub-branch of Upper Amazon (Northern division), which is a large set of languages (about 40) that, at the time of the conquest of the New World, extended from the Paraguaná peninsula (Venezuela) in the north to the Juruá River (Brazil) in the south. In the east, these languages were spoken at the foot of the Cordillera Oriental in Colombia and extended to the junction of the Solimões River with the Río Negro (Brazil). In particular, according to Kaufman (1993), Maipure constitutes a separate division of the Central Upper Amazon grouping, which contains two other divisions and which can be represented by the *Stammbaum* in fig. 2. (A dagger indicates an extinct language.)
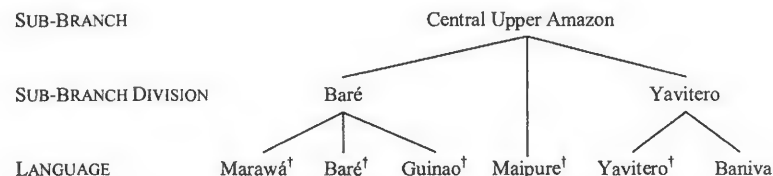
FIGURE 2: THE CENTRAL UPPER AMAZON SUB-BRANCH OF NORTHERN AMAZON

Note that the position of the Marawá language shown in fig. 2 has been extrapolated by Kaufman purely on the basis of the meagre data in Loukotka (1968).[21] Table 1 gives a selection of common Maipure lexical items and their Baré, Guinao, Marawá, Yavitero, and Baniva equivalents along with Proto-Maipuran (P-M) reconstructions found in Payne (1991). Using data from von Martius (1867), this comparison makes it clear that Marawá does not show a special resemblance to any other language involved.[22]

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[21] In the nineteenth century, Marawá was spoken between the Juruá and Juraí Rivers, in the state of Amazonas in Brazil.

[22] The other sources of data used include Cunha de Oliveira (1993) (Baré), Aikhenvald (1998) (Baniva), Koch-Grünberg (1911) (Baré and Baniva), Koch-Grünberg (1928) (Guinao), Mosonyi (1987) (Yavitero), Mosonyi and Mosonyi (2000) (Baniva), and Schomburgk (1848) (Guinao). Correspondences among the items may be (more or less) regular except for those segments enclosed in square brackets, which may

TABLE 1: CENTRAL UPPER AMAZON COMPARISONS

P-M	Maipure	Baré	Guinao	Marawá	Yavitero	Baniva	Gloss
*dana[pʰa]	-aná	-dána	-dána	-eʃé	*-kánu*	-ánu	'arm'
*kʰuere	kuli[kiní]	*táini*	*kawaháuku*	kuri[hi]	*múmu*	ʃére	'black'
*[da]keni[aku]	-[a]kiní	-[dá]tini	-[dá]ʒini	-[tá]ki	-[tá]sine	-[tá:]ni[paɭa]	'ear'
*nika	-éka	-ni	—	—	-e ~ -éna	-e	'eat'
*[l]uki/e	-[pu][ɭ]ikí	-wíti	-wíʒi	-aku[si]	-[hú][ɭ]isi	-[pú:][ɭ]i	'eye'
*dikah[tsi]	ká[ti]	*kaméni*	tʃé:ke	*irisi*	ká[ɭi]	á:[ʃi]	'fire'
*hima	tima[kí]	*kubáti*	ka:dʒépe	emé	ɭíma	ʃíme	'fish'
*kʰapi	-kápi	-kʰábi	-kábi	-kabe[sui]	-káha[hi]	-ápi	'hand'
*kiwi	-kibu[kú]	*-dúsia*	tʃéwe	-síwi	-síhu	-íbu	'head'
*maba	mápa	mába	mába	—	máha	mába	'honey'
*numa	-numa[kú]	-núma	-nú:ma	-numa[ku]	-núma	-núma	'mouth'
*kenu	-inú	-nʰu	*-wápe*	*-tu*	-ínu	-inú[pi]	'neck'
*ahbija	apiá	había	*weɭíʒi*	—	ahíja	a:bída	'peccary'
*ahtini	ané[pu]	diná[bu]	tená:[bu]	—	tané[hu]	tené[pu]	'road'
*jenuh[ki]	énu	énu	wé:nu	*ihiʃakute*	énu	énu	'sky'
*imaka	-íma	-[d]úma	-[d]ema:ka	-[t]emeka	-[ts]íma	-[tʃ]íma	'sleep'
*kʰiba	kípa	tíba	ʒí:ba	kúba	síha	í:pa	'stone'
*kema	kiéma	téma	tsé:ma	káma	kéma	éma	'tapir'
*jima[de]	jéma	*áɺi*	—	—	jéma	é:ɺi	'tobacco'
*ahtse	-éti	-áhai	-á:he	-atú	-éɭi	-áʃi	'tooth'
*anda[mi][na]	aá	áda	da[mú:][na]	*ukuaʃukuna*	áta	á:ta[pi]	'tree'
*uni	wéni	úni	ú:ni	úni	wéni	wéni	'water'

1.3.2 Closest genetic relations

The possibility that Maipure, Baré,[23] Guinao,[24] Yavitero,[25] and Baniva[26] form a single genetic unit cannot at present be confirmed. Although a summary comparison of these languages reveals the

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constitute morphs either synchronically or at some previous stage of the language. Non-cognate forms, also included, are given in italics. For ease of comparison, I use here a phonemic transcription for the forms of Baré, Guinao, Marawá, Yavitero, and Baniva and the Proto-Maipuran protoforms that shows the palatal glide as *j*, the voiceless alveolar affricate as *ts*, and the voiceless alveo-palatal affricate as *tʃ*. Finally, note that the rendering of the Guinao and Marawá forms is only approximate.

[23] Baré was spoken by several thousand people in the Upper Río Negro region of Brazil and Venezuela. Its last known fluent speaker (in Brazil) died in 1992.

[24] Guinao (or Guinau) was once spoken near the sources of the Caura and Merevari Rivers, in the state of Bolívar in Venezuela.

[25] See note 16.

[26] Baniva (or Baniwa of Guainia) has about 400 speakers (out of a population of 1,200) on the Venezuelan side of the border with Colombia (mainly in the village of Maroa, Amazonas) and in Colombia itself (along the Caño Aquí, a tributary of the Río Guainía; Mosonyi and Mosonyi 2000:185). There are also reported to be a few dozen speakers of the Warekena dialect of Baniva in Brazil, in nine communities along the Xie river (a tributary of the Rio Negro), but these speakers are all bilingual in (Tupian) Nheengatú and no longer use Warekena for everyday communication, despite it being their first language (Aikhenvald 1998:225).

existence of a few lexical innovations which seem to be restricted to these languages, the evidence is not strong enough to exclude the possibility that these sporadic agreements are due to diffusion rather than common ancestry. In the lexical data available to me, I have found one apparent lexical innovation reflected in all five abovementioned languages and another two in Baré, Guinao, Baniva, and Yavitero. These apparent innovations are:

'jaguar': *kuatsi (Baré *kuáti*, Maipure *kuatikí*, Yavitero *kuáiₗi*, Baniva *wáʃi* 'jaguar'; Guinao *kua:ʒi* 'dog'). Irregularity: the Baré form has *t* for expected *h*/___*i* < *ts.[27]

'star': *winaɺi (Baré *wínadi*, Guinao *juwíndi*, Yavitero *wíwinaɺi*, Baniva *wimináɺi*). Irregularity: the correspondence Baré *d* : Yavitero *ɺ* : Baniva *ɺ* is aberrant. Cf. Baniwa of Içana *híwiɺi* and Yucuna *hiwiɺí*. (The Maipure word for 'star', *urúpu*, seems to be a loan from Piapoco; see §1.6.2.)

'wind': *witi (Baré *hawísi*, Guinao *hawídʒi*, Yavitero *uwitsi*, Baniva *wítsi*; Maipure *kipukú*.)

Another conclusion that can be drawn by comparing Baré, Guinao, Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva is that the first two languages, on the one hand, and the remaining three languages, on the other, seem to constitute effective sub-branches of Northern Maipuran. Below, I present some lexical evidence for a grouping of Baré and Guinao excluding Maipure, Yavitero, Baniva, and probably all the other documented Maipuran languages, and a grouping of Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva excluding Baré and Guinao (as well as any other known member of the Maipuran stock) for which I propose the name Maipure-Yavitero.

BARÉ LEXICAL INNOVATIONS:

'agouti': *wajuɺu (Baré *wajúₗu*, Guinao *wajuₗúmidʒi*).

'earth': *kadi (Baré *kʰádi*, Guinao *kádi*). Cf. Piapoco *káli* and Cabiyarí *ta:kali*.

'eye': *witʃi (Baré *-wíti*, Guinao *-wiʒi*; Proto-Maipuran *[l]ukɨ/e.)[28]

'fruit': *buku (Baré *-babúku*, Guinao *-búku*).

'man': *henaɺi (Baré *hénaɺi*, Guinao *hé:naɺe*). Cf. Yavitero *énami*, Baniva *é:nami*, and Proto-Maipuran *ahʃeni*.

'skin': *ida (Baré *-ída*, Guinao *-í:da*). Cf. Proto-Maipuran *idama*.

'night': *he:binama (Baré *hebínama*, Guinao *he:banamekaɺi*). Cf. Baniwa of Içana and Tariana *dé:pi* 'night' and Proto-Maipuran *tʃabu.

MAIPURE-YAVITERO LEXICAL INNOVATIONS:

'before': *piadu (Maipure *-piáu*, Baniva *-piátu*).

'manioc (plant and bread)': *pusi (Maipure *úsi*, Avane [§1.4] *púsi*, Yavitero *ahúsi*).

'come': *nupa (Maipure *-nuá*, Yavitero *-núha*, Baniva *-núpa*).

'eye': *puɺiki (Maipure *-puₗikí*, Yavitero *-húₗisi*, Baniva *-pú.ₗi*; Proto-Maipuran *[l]ukɨ/e).

'lake': *kawija (Maipure *kawiá* 'lake', Yavitero [Koch-Grünberg 1911] *kabija*, Baniva *awijá* 'swamp'; Proto-Maipuran *kale[sa]).

'son': *dani (Maipure *-áni*, Yavitero *-táintani*, Baniva *-táni*).

'tongue': *daɺe (Maipure *-áₗe*, Baniva *-táₗe*). Cf. Proto-Baré *daɺe 'lip' (Baré *-dáₗebi*, Guinao *-daₗeha*; Proto-Maipuran *tʃira 'lip').

'water': *weni (Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva *wéni*; Proto-Maipuran *uni).

A shared morphological innovation identified for Maipure-Yavitero concerns the use of the same form for the second and third person plural: *ni- (Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva *ni-*; Proto-Maipuran *hi- '2pl' and *na- '3pl'). Also characteristic of Maipure, Yavitero, and Baniva is the use of the morpheme -ₗi to mark relative clauses as well as WH-questions when the question constituent

is the subject or the object (see Mosonyi 1987:79, Aikhenvald 1998:261, and section §3.8.3.1 of the present work).

Within the Maipure-Yavitero sub-branch, on the basis of the retention of *d and the non-preservation (assibilation to [s] in Yavitero, loss in Baniva) of *k before *i, the inclination would be to group Yavitero and Baniva together and assume that they derive from a common language, Proto-Yavitero.

*dana 'arm' (Proto-Maipuran *dana[pʰa]) > Maipure *-aná*, Proto-Yavitero *tana 'wing' (Yavitero *-tánahasi*, Baniva *-tanápi*).

*danepu 'road' (Proto-Maipuran *ahtini) > Maipure *anépu*, Proto-Yavitero *tanepu (Yavitero *tanéhu*, Baniva *tanépu*).

*dakini 'ear' (Proto-Maipuran *[da]keni[aku]) > Maipure *-akini*, Proto-Yavitero *tasini (Yavitero *-tásine*, Baniva *-tá:nipaₗa*).

*kiba 'stone' (Proto-Maipuran *kʰiba) > Maipure *kípa*, Proto-Yavitero *sipa (Yavitero *síha*, Baniva *í:pa*).

Moreover, supporting lexical evidence exists that suggests Yavitero and Baniva constitute a single subgroup; compare the following shared innovations and retentions.

SHARED INNOVATIONS:

'arm': *kanu (Yavitero *-kánu*, Baniva *-ánu*; Maipure *-aná*). Cf. Proto-Maipuran *danapʰa 'arm'.

'rib': *patape (Yavitero *-hátahe*, Baniva *-pátape*; Maipure *-paá*). Cf. Baré *-báda 'rib'.

'two': *naba (Yavitero *tsináha*, Baniva *-nába*; Maipure *a- -nume*). Cf. Proto-Maipuran *api.

SHARED RETENTIONS:

'fish': Proto-Maipuran *hima > *tsima (Yavitero *ₗíma*, Baniva *ʃíme*; Maipure *timakí*).

'head': Proto-Maipuran *kibu > *sibu (Yavitero *-síhu*, Baniva *-íbu*; Maipure *-kibukú*).

'red': Proto-Maipuran *kira > *sira (Yavitero *síta*, Baniva *íₗa*; Maipure *kajuméni*).

Further study would undoubtedly lengthen these two lists as it would the list of the Maipure-Yavitero shared lexical innovations given above.

1.4 Avane

On the basis of M1, one may conclude that the language of the Maipure was also spoken with slight phonetic variations by the Avane (probable autonym [awáni], Sp. *Abane*), a distinct group located in the contact period along the Autana and Sipapo Rivers in the Venezuelan state of Amazonas.

> La lingua degli *Avani* non è diversa che in . . . sconciature da quella de' *Maipuri*. È rozza la prima, di pronuncia gutturale, e per dire in breve, storpiata in tutto. Gentile la seconda, di bella, e grata pronunzia, e tale in somma, che sembra avere di primitivo candore ogni segno (p. 203).[29]

Even from the small number of words made available by Gilij, it is clear that, despite a remarkable similarity in vocabulary (see table 2) and morphology (see notes 51, 90, 91, and 93), the speech of the Avane deviates from that of the Maipure with respect to phonetics. The most noteworthy phonetic features that characterize Avane in comparison with Maipure are the use of the dental stop [ḍ] (foreign to Maipure, but native to Yavitero and Baniva) and that of the glottal fricative [h] in contexts in which other consonants ([ṭ], [k], and [j]) occur in Maipure (viz. before [i] and/or [a]).[30] As well, the diphthongs [ai] and [au] in Avane are apparently never contracted when they occur in a

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[27] Cf. Proto-Maipuran *manatsi 'k.o. ant' > Baré *manáhi*; Proto-Maipuran *ahtse 'tooth' > *atsi > Baré *-áhai*. Other developments of the "mesoform" *atsi are Yavitero *-éₗi* and Baniva *-áʃi*.

[28] *k became *t* in Baré and *ʒ* in Guinao before a high central or front vowel.

[29] Cf. also the passages from M1, p. 202, reproduced in the preceding section §1.3.1.

[30] Following the Spanish orthographic practice, [h] is spelt by Gilij <x> and <j>.

TABLE 2: COMPARING THE ATTESTED AVANE WORDS TO OTHER NORTHERN MAIPURAN LANGUAGES

Avane	Maipure	Yavitero	Baniva	Baré	Guinao	Gloss
<javaxì>	jawatí	tsúwa	tsúwa	épi	malía	'axe'
<pussi>	úsi	ahúsi	ká:ka	kúsi	tsá:li	'manioc bread'
<casimeje>	—	—	—	—	—	'a dance'
<Diòsu>	piúsu[1]	díu	diútsu	diúsu	—	'God'
<ada>	ája	tája	tája	dajáma	ʒí:ba[2]	'grater'
<tamàu>	tamáu[3]	ɟa nehéja	ʃájaɺe	ihíwana	—	'he went'
<nuxa>	núja	núja	núja	núni	—	'I'
<nuxacàu>	nutakáu[4]	nuɺá	nuʃá	nihíwa	—	'I go'
<nujutuà>	—	nukáinta	—	ʰnumísi	—	'I smoke'
<quaxixì>[5]	kuatikí	kuáiɺi	wáʃi	kuáti	manukáne:	'jaguar'
<Metimetichinì>	—	—	—	—	—	'Maipure'[6]
<napài>	napái[7]	núhi	nuɺuámi	nujákaɺi	mbá:ba	'my father'
<unè>	uné	garéɺi[8]	—	—	—	'k.o. skin disease'
<Purrùnaminàri>[9]	purunamináli[9]	—	—	—	—	'supreme being'
<yema>	jéma	jéma	é:li	áli	í:li	'tobacco'
<inioxì>	tiniukí[10]	ɟalínemi	néjawa	hinátʃati	hénau	'woman'
<saje>, <ja>	u u	éhe	é:he	éhe	áha	'yes'

SOURCES OF AVANE WORDS: M1 (pp. 6 and 153–203, *passim*) and M3 (pp. 62 and 284).
NOTES:
[1] [piósu]
[2] = 'stone'
[3] Variant form: *tamú* [ṭamó] (see §2.7).
[4] Variant form: *nutakú* [ṇuṭakó] (see §2.7).
[5] Also spelt by Gilij <quajiji>.
[6] Nickname (§1.1).
[7] Variant form: *napé* (see §2.7).
[8] < Sp. *carate*.
[9] [pur:ùnamiṇáli] (see note 14).
[10] [tiniokí]

stressed syllable as happens in Maipure (in rapid speech presumably). These observations are in part confirmed by the following two statements by Gilij.

> Passiamo alle parole, che abbisognano di pronunzia Spagnuola. Molte non possono pronunziarsi senza il sussidio del *jota* proprio di questa lingua. . . . [Nella lingua] de' *Maipuri* vi si trova talvolta. Ma nell'*Avane*, dialetto del *Maipùre*, ed in altre lingue, è frequentissimo . . . (M1, pp. 155–56).

> Nel *Maipure* sono naturali non men, che frequenti i dittonghi *ai*, ed *au*: *napai*, padre, *tamau*, andò &c. Questi dittonghi da' veri *Maipùri* vengono pronunziati con esattezza ed equivalgono alle voci, *napè*, *tamò* &c.. Ma gli *Avani*, gente rozza, e più goffa, gli sciolgono assai frequentemente, con dire a bocca piena *napài*, *tamàu* &c. (M1, pp. 156).

On the whole, however, the points of divergence noted do not appear to be very significant. It can be seen in table 2 that all the Avane and Maipure lexical items which are not phonetically identical are still acoustically very similar. But since the number of words that may be used for a comparison with Maipure and other closely related languages is extremely small, it is impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion about the status of Avane. It is only safe to say that Avane and Maipure belong to the Maipure-Yavitero sub-branch of the Upper Amazon branch of Northern Maipuran languages

and that they are more closely related to each other than to the other documented languages of their sub-branch (see the *Stammbaum* in fig. 3).

BRANCH: Upper Amazon
SUB-BRANCH: Baré — Maipure-Yavitero
GROUP: Maipure — Yavitero
LANGUAGE: Baré† Guinao† — Maipure† Avane† — Baniva Yavitero†
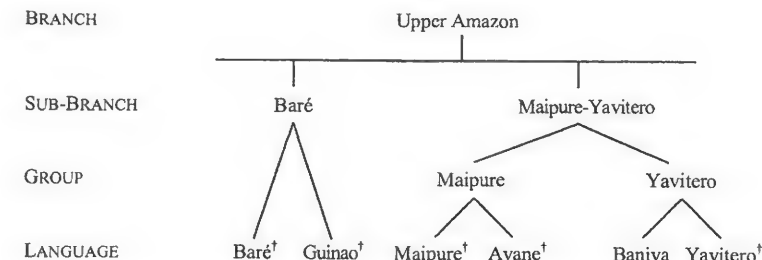
FIGURE 3: LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS OF MAIPURE AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

1.5 Sex differences in speech

Two particles are reportedly used exclusively by members of one sex: *nau*, or *no*, by men, and *mau*, or *mò*, by women (M1, p. 161). Presumably, these two particles were used with the function of marking male/female speech, in a manner analogous to the sex-exclusive morphemes of some Cariban languages of the region (such as Tamanaco, Carib, and Avaricoto).

> Ma se loro [gli Orinochesi] mancano i generi, hanno però delle particole distinguenti il sesso di quei, che parlano. I maschi Tamanachi, a cagion di esempio, interpongono sempre al parlare la particola *uè*: *patcurbe ure uè*; io sono buono: *maje uè*, andiamo &c. Le loro donne all'opposto costumano il *me*: *maje me* &c. I maschi Caribi per particola distintiva hanno il *se*: gli Avaricotti il *ce*. *Nau*, o *no* è il distintivo de' Maipuri: *mau*, o *mò* è quello delle donne. Atteso ciò, credo che gli altri Indiani pure abbiano delle somiglianti espressioni nelle lor lingue (M1, p. 161).

1.6 Language contact

1.6.1 Extra-Maipuran borrowing

The vocabulary of Maipure shows significant contact with Cariban, especially in the semantic domains of flora and fauna. Consider the following Maipure forms in relation to Tamanaco and Carib lexemes:[31] *uɺuí* 'cashew tree', Tamanaco *woroi*, Carib *o:roi*; *kuɺukái* 'copaiba balsam', Tamanaco *marana*, Carib *kurukai*; *wisisí* 'k.o. duck', Tamanaco *witʃitʃi*, Carib *wisisi*; *kurúmu* 'black vulture', Tamanaco *kirimu*, Carib *kuru:mu*; *sipaɺaɺi* 'iron', Tamanaco *parari*, Carib *siparari*; *paɺána* 'sea' and *paráwa* 'Orinoco', Tamanaco *parawa* 'sea', Carib *para:na* 'sea'; *kiɺisí* 'smallpox', Tamanaco *kiritʃi*, Carib *kiresi*.

A trace of Salivan vocabulary in the language is perhaps the word *jumukí* [jomukí] 'maize' (Saliva *dʒomo*, Piaroa *ɲaʔmuih*).[32]

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[31] Tamanaco was once spoken in a zone delimited by the rivers Maniapure and Cuchivero (right tributaries of the Middle Orinoco) in the present day state of Bolívar of Venezuela.

[32] In Yavitero, 'maize' is *kána* (cf. Tariana *kána* and Baniwa of Içana *ká:na*), in Baniva it is *makánatsi* (cf. Baré *makánasi*).

Loans from European languages are all from Spanish and they have not affected the basic vocabulary; some examples: *misi* 'cat', Spanish *micho*; *suláɹu* [soláɹo] 'soldier', Spanish *soldado*; *páɹe* 'Father, missionary', Spanish *padre*; *piúsu* [piósu] 'God', Spanish *Dios*; *piéta* 'holiday', Spanish *fiesta*; *sáju* [sájo] 'salt', Spanish *sal*; *aɹáta* 'banana plant', Spanish *plátano*;[33] *patía* 'watermelon', Spanish *patilla*.[34]

1.6.2 Intra-Maipuran borrowing

Lexical transfers from neighbouring Maipuran languages to Maipure are specifically attested and exemplified in Gilij's *Saggio di storia americana*. But what we learn from this source is only that Maipure has received two response words from Avane, while it is said to have borrowed one greeting from Guipunave.

> L'avverbio affermativo sì poche nazioni lo hanno. Gli Avani, e per imitazione alcuni de' Maipùri dicono *saje*, oppure all'uso Tedesco *ja* (M1, p. 174).

> Al primo ingresso [nelle lor case], in alta voce, e maschile dicono, *bare nau*; ed è un saluto de' *Guipunàvi* usato da' *Maipùri* per festevole imitazione (M4, p. 202).

Another eighteenth century source, José Gumilla's *El Orinoco ilustrado y defendido* (Madrid, 1745), contains an indication that the Maipure, before their resettlement in the two Middle Orinoco *reducciones*, were in contact with the Achagua, and suggests that the Maipure extensively borrowed words from the language of this group (see note 20).[35] Linguistic evidence for such contact appears in the form of a few lexical items that are clear loanwords from Achagua (a member of the Piapoco group of the Western Nawiki sub-branch of Northern Maipuran languages, according to Kaufman 1993:58) on the basis of the distributional criterion of the absence of cognates in Baniva and Yavitero: *matibe* 'be bad', Achagua *má:ʃibe:* 'evil'; *kawíta* 'gold', Achagua *kabída*; *suwitá* 'pauxi, helmeted curassow', Achagua *súbita*. In particular, the Maipure form *matibe* was almost certainly copied from Achagua, since the Achagua form is morphologically transparent (*má:ʃi-* 'bad' + *-be:* 'nominalizer'; Wilson 1992:51) while the Maipure one is opaque, i.e. monomorphemic.

Piapoco, the closest extant relative of Achagua, also seems to have contributed a significant number of words to Maipure.[36] According to the oral history of the Piapoco, this group came into close contact with the Maipure who were living along the Autana River (see González Ñáñez 1989:84). Some examples of loanwords from the Piapoco language are as follows: *uɹéwa* 'parrot', Piapoco *dulèwa* 'guajibo' (k.o. parrot); *urúpu* 'star', Piapoco *dùlupùta*; *panakaɹè* 'planted', Piapoco *-bànakale* 'planted field'; *-seka* 'paint', Piapoco *-saká:*.[37] The noun *-bànakare*, transparently

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morphologically complex (*-bàna* 'plant (v.)' + *-kale* 'nominalizer'; Klumpp 1990:72), became an unanalyzable adjective in Maipure. Not unexpectedly, when Piapoco lexemes containing the alveolar stop [d] were borrowed into Maipure (which does not use this sound), the [d] was lost.

Since Piapoco and Achagua have a large number of cognate words which are identical or very similar in shape, it is not always possible to determine from which of the two languages a particular borrowing originated: Maipure *áuɹi* 'dog', Achagua *áuli*, Piapoco *áuli*; Maipure *jamanáɹi* 'iguana', Achagua *tʃamánali*, Piapoco *tʃàmanàli*.

1.7 The present study

This contribution is the outcome of my desire to present *all* the knowledge that I have been able to gather from *all* the surviving material of the extinct Maipure language. Included are, therefore, chapters on phonology and morphosyntax, texts, and also a word list (appendix B).

For phonology, as for some aspects of morphosyntax, the Maipure corpus is too restricted to always reach definite conclusions. Any statement about Maipure phonology in particular must be considered tentative. The possibility exists, however, of comparing the language with a number of living relatives for which grammars and, sometimes, dictionaries are available; this allows us to interpret the limited eighteenth century Maipure material to an extent and with a sureness (generally speaking) that would be unobtainable with an exclusively inductive approach.

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[33] Borrowing might have come through the Achagua word *paláta* (Fabo 1911:198; see §1.6.2) rather than directly from Spanish. Names for the banana in some other languages of the region (not only Maipuran) are *haɹátana* (Yavitero), *paɹátana* (Baniva), *pálatuna* (Piapoco), *balá:tuna* (Guahibo), and *hikʷetena pa:tuna* (Saliba).

[34] The spreading into Maipure of an evident American Spanish word like *patilla* 'watermelon' indicates that Spanish loanwords came from a spoken dialect and not from the standard variety.

[35] The Achagua were once widely spread throughout Venezuela and eastern Colombia. In terms of political divisions of the 1920s, Salas (1921) locates them in the Venezuelan states of Bolívar, Guárico, Zamora, and Bermúdez. They lived at the confluence of the Meta and Orinoco Rivers, between the Apure, Meta, and Orinoco Rivers, between some of the tributaries of the Meta River, in particular the Uribante and Arauca Rivers, and on the southern side of the Guaviare River adjoining the Guahibo and Saliva. Nowadays, the Achagua (about 200 people) only occupy the plains along the Meta River near Puerto Gaitan (Colombia).

[36] Piapoco is currently spoken by about 3,100 people living along the lower Vichada, Meta, and Guaviare Rivers on the eastern plains of Colombia.

[37] The acute and grave accents of Piapoco words signal phonemic high and low pitch respectively.

2 Phonology

In this chapter, the Maipure phonemes, their distribution, and some morphophonemic changes are described.

2.1 Consonants

2.1.1 Chart of consonant phonemes

There seem to be six obstruent phonemes, /p b t k s h/, and six sonorants, /m n ɭ r w j/.

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p	t			k	
voiced stop	b					
fricative		s				h
nasal	m	n				
lateral flap			ɭ			
trill			r			
glide	w			j		

/h/ is the rare *jota* mentioned by Gilij (see §1.4) of which, however, no occurence exists in the Maipure material in our possession. /r/ is a phonetically long phoneme:[38] *aráu* [ar:áu] 'river turtle', *urúta* [ur:úta] 'bean'. Note also that /t, s, n/ are treated as dentals, rather than alveolars, because /t, s, n/ and /t, n/ respectively of the closely related Yavitero and Baniva have been identified as dental phonemes (see Mosonyi 1987:28; Mosonyi and Mosonyi 2000:188; and Aikhenvald 1998:399).

2.1.2 A contrast for stops

/p b/   /kipukú/ 'wind'   vs.   /kibukú/ '(his) head'

2.1.3 A contrast for rhotics

/ɭ r/   /aláu/ 'world'   vs.   /aráu/ 'river turtle'

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[38] "Gli Orinochesi non raddoppiano ordinariamente le lettere. Ma la lingua de' Maipùri vi è eccezione; poiché usano molto frequentemente la R doppia" (M1, p. 152).

2.2 Vowels

2.2.1 Chart of vowel phonemes

Maipure has a system of four vowels, apparently complicated by rare corresponding long vowels.

	front	central	back
high	i i:		u u:
mid	e e:		
low		a a:	

/u/ largely ranges freely around the mid-high back vowels [u] and [o]. It is realized as mid-back after an unstressed /i/ (except, so it seems, in *aniúke* 'up') or /u/: [tiɲiokí] 'woman', [mawakió] 'feverish person', [kapatɛr:uó] 'cockroach'. It is realized as high back word-initially (apart from the loanword *utumáku* [oṭomáku], an ethnonym): [uká] 'rapids', [ur:úka] 'mouse', [uṇuṇá] 'all'.

Presumably, as in Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:27) and Baniva (Mosonyi and Mosonyi 2000:191), the basic realization of /e/ is [ɛ]; cf. /poéta/ 'drunk', pronounced very likely [poɛ́ṭa].[39]

Examples of long vowels seem to be *nukí:* 'my foot', *se:* 'armadillo', *pe:* 'scissors', *a:rapi* 'be upright', and *nú:ra* 'my belly'. Only one instance exists in the available Maipure material in which the short/long difference appears to distinguish two words (see §2.2.2 below). However, the impossibility of predicting the occurrence of all the suspected long vowels in our data, and the fact that vowel length is phonemically significant in the majority of Maipuran languages (see Aikhenvald 1999:78), strongly suggest that vowel length is distinctive in Maipure, too.

2.2.2 Some contrasts for vowels

/i e/	/íka/	'he shows'	vs.	/éka/	'he eats'
/a e/	/náka/	'I eat'	vs.	/néka/	'you (pl.)/they eat'
/a u/	/iná/	'my mother'	vs.	/inú/	'his neck'
/i i:/	/ki/	'in it'	vs.	/ki:/	'his foot'

2.3 Representation of consonant and vowel phonemes

The attested segmental phonemes are written by Gilij as follows.

- The obstruents /p/, /b/, /t/, /k/, and /s/, the sonorants /m/, /n/, and /j/, and the short vowels /i/, /e/ and /a/, are represented *à la* Italian, therefore, /k/ excepted, with graphemes which do not differ from the phonemic transcriptions.

- The spellings of /k/ are <c> before /a/ and /u/, <ch> before front vowels, and <q> before the vowel clusters /ui/, /ua/, and /ue/.

- Occasionally, for /p/, /t/, /k/, and /s/, doubled graphemes are used: <-purichì> ~ <-ppuriki> 'eye', <matìsi> ~ <mattìsi> 'small, little', <pacatià> ~ <paccatià> 'always', <usi> ~ <ussi> 'manioc'.

- The voiced alveolar lateral flap ("lateralized", strictly speaking) is spelt <r>. This rhotic, found in most Northern Maipuran languages, is also found in some Yavitero and Baniva words that have similar or identical forms in Maipure where Gilij writes <r>.

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[39] Word said by Gilij (M1, p. 146) to be homophonous with the Italian noun *poeta*.

Maipure	Yavitero	Baniva	
<-purichì>	-húlisi	-pú:li	'eye'
<jaràchi>	jaláki	jaláki	'yaraque' (intoxicating drink)
<jaranàvi>	jalánawi	jalánawi	'White person' (Maipure: 'Portuguese')

- The voiced alveolar trill, that, as indicated in §2.1.1, was realized as phonetically long, is represented by <rr>.

- The bilabial glide /w/ is usually spelt <v> (nearly always intervocalically) and, marginally, following the Italian practice, <u>.[40]

Maipure	Yavitero	Baniva	
<evachini>	téwa	té:wa	'yellow'
<cavì>	káwi	áwi	'hurt (v.)'
<veni> ~ <ueni>	wéni	wéni	'water'

- Two graphemes are assigned to /u/: <u> to the allophone [u], <o> to the allophone [o]. The use of <u> to represent (following also in this case the Italian orthographic norm) both /u/ and /w/, when followed by a vowel, is not ambiguous. In fact, comparison with other languages, such as Yavitero, indicates that <u> is consonantal when it occurs word-initially before a vowel and vocalic when it occurs between a consonant and a vowel.

Maipure	Yavitero	Baniva	
<uaja>	wája	wája	'we'
<uepi>	wéhi	wépi	'k.o. palm'
<quatichi>	kuáili	wáʃi	'jaguar'
<queti>	—	kuéʃi	'animal'

- Long vowels are represented with two adjacent identical vowel graphemes, at least in some cases.

Maipure	Achagua	Baniwa of Içana[41]	Tariana[42]	
<-chìi>	-i:	-hí:pa	-dʰipáma	'foot'
<see>	tʃe:	—	je:	'armadillo'

In Hervás y Panduro's documents, the velar stop /k/ before front vowels and vowel clusters beginning with /u/ is usually spelt <k> and the palatal glide /j/, in accord with Spanish spelling, is always written <y>.

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[40] Note that Gilij in his *Saggio di storia americana* also employs <v> to represent the bilabial glide of Tamanaco words (see Mattéi-Muller 1990:24–26). The use of <u> for an intervocalic /w/ seems to be limited to two nouns with the same root: *curricàtiuàri* 'compassionate man' and *curricàtiuàu* 'compassionate woman' (M1, p. 162).

[41] Baniwa of Içana (or Kurripako) is spoken by 3,000–4,000 people along the Içana River and its tributaries in the border area of Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela.

[42] A northern Maipuran language, closely related to Baniwa of Içana, spoken by about 100 (adult) people along the Vaupés river (Brazil).

2.4 Stress

Stress (generally marked in the original documents by a grave accent), exists in two degrees: primary stress and secondary stress.

Primary stress falls on the antepenultimate, penultimate, or final syllable of the word. It is a suprasegmental phoneme of Maipure, as shown by the following minimal pairs:

/kápi/	'his hand'	vs.	/kapí/	'you (sg.)'
/núpa/	'k.o. plant'	vs.	/nupá/	'he is born'

Secondary stress, not phonemic, seems to apply (avoiding sequences of two stressed syllables) to words of more than three syllables on one or, in the case of long words, more syllables to the left of the primary-stressed one. Consider, for example, the following forms from M1 and M4: *tùmutúmu* 'catarrh, cold', *nutètakaná* 'my companion (male)', *nukumàlaki* 'my knee', *wasùlenámi* 'his ghost', *apèapèkipaki* 'four', *kaànikiwakanèkini* 'married woman'.

The (final) position of the primary word stress can be derived in the sense that there are suffixes which always carry the main stress (see §2.6.2).

2.5 Phonotactics

2.5.1 Distribution of segmental phonemes

There are no word-final consonants. In initial position, all the attested consonant phonemes occur except /b/ and /r/ which, in our corpus, also do not occur initially in any stem.[43]

The only consonantal sequences in the data (native vocabulary) are /nt/ and /lt/.[44] None of them are attested in more than one word: *ipuntá* 'beyond it', *wilti* 'white frost'.

The four short vowels (at least) occur in any position in a word.

The four short vowels can also occur in sequence. All possible sequences of two short vowels, except /ii/, /ee/, /eu/, and /ae/, are documented:

/ie/: *kié* 'sun', *upié* 'tomorrow', *kiéma* 'tapir', *nu-kieka-ká-u* 'I stand up';
/ia/: *apiá* 'peccary', *kawiá* 'lake', *pía* 'you (sg.)', *awiamá* 'gourd';
/iu/: *mapita-kiú* 'fugitive', *aniúke* 'up', *tiniuki* 'woman', *síu* 'bird';
/ei/: *kéi* 'sweet potato';
/ea/: *apeapekipaki* 'four';
/ai/: *aí* 'chilli pepper', *napái* 'my father', *kulukái* 'copaiba balsam', *kainá* 'sand, bank';
/aa/: *aá* 'tree', *naá* 'if', *nu-taá* 'I give', *nu-paá* 'my rib';
/au/: *áuka* 'traitor', *ta-má-u* 'he goes', *lauráu* 'k.o. bird', *aubali* 'tall, high';
/ui/: *ulúi* 'cashew', *maisuíni* 'bad, ugly', *kuíta* 'k.o. hut', *kuitúna* 'Raudal de Maipures';
/ue/: *kuéti* 'wild animal', *jukuéti* 'needle', *puéta* 'drunk';
/ua/: *nuá* 'he comes', *ikuá* 'then', *juáni* 'be near', *puakí* 'fever';
/uu/: *kapateruú* 'cockroach'.

No more than three vowels occur in a sequence. Clusters of three vowels are rare, but clear examples do occur in the corpus:

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[43] The Spanish *rezar* [r:eθár] 'say one's prayers', for example, is borrowed as -*aresa*, with a prosthetic vowel. /b/ in initial position is, really, restricted to one loan in our material, the Guipunave greetings expression *bále náu* (see §1.6.2).

[44] The cluster /nt/ occurs occasionally also in Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:31). In Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:402), syllables of the /Vn/ or /Vl/ structure are possible in rapid speech register only.

/aia/: *naía* 'that one (non-feminine)';
/aiu/: *aíu* 'yam';
/iau/: *piáu* 'before it'.

2.5.2 Syllable structure

The Maipure syllable may be regarded as basically (C)V(V)(n/l). Almost every word in the corpus consists of at least two syllables.[45]

2.6 Morphophonological changes

2.6.1 Segmental changes

Morphophonological segmental variation involves only vowels in Maipure. The morphophonological segmental changes that follow have been observed at the prefix-root boundary. (Note that prefixes contain only the short vowels /i/, /a/, and /u/ in Maipure, and that the changes in questions only concern roots beginning with a front vowel.)

(a) /i/ + /e/ > /e/:   pi- + -épua {2sg + canoe} > *pépua* 'your canoe'
                        ni- + -éka {2pl/3pl + eat} > *néka* 'you/they eat'

(b) /a/ + /i/ > /a/:   ka- + -itu-kiní {ATTR + mother-ATTR} > *katukiní* 'one who has a mother'
                        ma- + -itu-tení {PRIV + mother-PRIV} > *matutení* 'one who has no mother'

Two exceptions to this vowel change are:

wa- + -íke {1pl + to} > *waíke, weké* [*sic*] 'to us'
wa- + -ituá {1pl + from} > *wetuá* 'from us'[46]

(c) /a/ + /e/ > /a/:   wa- + -épua {1pl + canoe} > *wápua* 'our canoe'
                        wa- + -éka {1pl + eat} > *wáka* 'we eat'

(d) /u/ + /i/ > /u/:   nu- + -íke {2pl/3pl + to} > *núke* 'to me'
                        ju- + -ítu {3sgf + mother} > *jútu* 'her mother'

(e) /u/ + /e/ > /a/:   nu- + -épua {1sg + canoe} > *nápua* 'my canoe'
                        ju- + -éka {3sgf + eat} > *jáka* 'she eats'

At the root-suffix boundary, a possible rule of vowel deletion is:

/a/ + /i/ > /a/:   aá + -ima {tree + PLACE} > *aáma* 'forest' (uncertain)

Between the modal marker *-palé* (whose morphemic status is unclear; see §3.3.1.4(v)) and the suffix *-u*, we find that:

/e/ + /u/ > /au/:   ta-palé + -u {go-HEARSAY + INTR} > *tapaláu* 'one says he went'

A vowel coalescence rule /i/ + /i/ > /i/ applies at the prefix-root boundary:

/i/ + /i/ > /i/:   pi- + -ítu {2sg + mother} > *pítu* 'your mother'
                    ni- + -íke {2pl/3pl + to} > *níke* 'to you/them'

But if the initial /i/ of the root is unstressed, it seems that:

/i/ + /i/ > /i:/:   ni- + -ituá {2pl/3pl + from} > *ni:tuá* 'from you/them' (uncertain)
                     wi- + -iná {1pl + with} > *wi:ná* 'together with us' (uncertain)

A vowel coalescence rule /u/ + /u/ > /u/ applies to the final vowel of the tense marker *-makú* (a suffix or an enclitic; see §3.3.1.2(ii)) when it is followed by the suffix *-u*:

/u/ + /u/ > /u/:   nu-kania-makú + -u {1sg-be-FUT₁ + INTR} > *nukaniamakú* 'I will be'

2.6.2 Suprasegmental changes

Almost all polysyllabic suffixes (generally stressed on the last syllable) and most of the monosyllabic ones (such as *-tí* and *-né*, added to noun stems, and *-ká*, added to verb stems) involve displacement of stress. The primary stress moves from the stem to the postposed element, e.g. *jáwa* + *-tí* > *jawa-tí* {axe-NPOSS} 'axe', *otomáku* + *-né* > *otomaku-né* {Otomaco-PL} 'Otomaco (people)', *wa-mawá* + *-ká* > *wa-mawa-ká* {1pl-die-CLOS} 'we die'. As suggested by the following examples, the stem to which an accented suffix is attached retains its original stress, but as a secondary stress: *pekanàti-né* {cacique-PL} 'caciques', *tèwita-maná* {moriche-PLACE} 'moriche grove', *kunè-miné* {be.sweet-AUG} 'be very sweet'. (Recall, however, that Maipure does not allow two stresses to occur in contiguous positions: *nuapé* + *-tí* > *nuape-tí* {belongings-NPOSS} 'belongings', *nu-puliá* + *-ká* > *nu-pulia-ká* {1sg-say-CLOS} 'I say'.)

A few accented enclitics are also documented in our corpus: *jaka-ké* {3sgf+eat-3sgnf} 'she ate it' (*jáka* 'she ate'), *menia-káu* {deceive-3sgf} 'he deceived her' (*meniá* 'he deccived').

2.7 Non-boundary phonological changes

Perhaps due to a tendency to monophthongize vowels in rapid speech (cf. the Tariana data in Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 2.5.3), all attested words with the diphthong /ai/ in a stressed syllable also have in our data a variant form with /e/, and most of those with the diphthong /au/ in a stressed syllable have a variant form with /u/, realized as [o] (see §1.4): *kulukái ~ kuluké* 'copaiba balsam', *napái ~ napé* 'my father', *papáita ~ papéta* 'one (person, body part)', *tamáu ~ tamú* 'he goes', *tumàutukí ~ tumùtukí* 'girl', *náu ~ nu* 'marker of male speech', *máu ~ mu* 'marker of female speech'.

2.8 Orthography adopted

The remainder of this monograph will use for Maipure the orthography employed in the original documents attesting the language. Thus, schematizing the content of §2.3, the following graphemes and digraphs will be used:

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[45] Cf. M1, p. 158: "[n]elle lingue de' *Tamanàchi* e de' *Maipùri*, che mi sovvenga, non si trovano delle parole . . . corte. Ma le disillabe sono moltissime in tutte e due; in que' nomi specialmente, i quali pajono le prime idee rappresentare, che un uomo tuttora rozzo, ama naturalmente di svolgere".

[46] The form *watuá* (spelt *uattua*) is, however, also attested.

Phoneme	Graphemic shape	Phoneme	Graphemic shape
/p/	<p>, <pp>	/j/	<j>, <y>
/b/	<b>	/i/	<i>
/t/	<t>, <tt>	/e/	<e>
/k/	<c>[a, u], <cc>[a, u], <ch>[i, e], <k>, <q>[ua, ue, ui]	/a/	<a>
/s/	<s>, <ss>	/u/	allophone [u]: <u>
/m/	<m>		allophone [o]: <o>
/n/	<n>	/i:/	<ii>
/ʎ/	<r>	/e:/	<ee>
/r/	<rr>	/a:/	<aa>
/w/	[#]<u>[a, e], <v>	/u:/	<uu>

To indicate obvious errors in the documents, the following symbols will also be used: ( ) added grapheme; [ ] superfluous grapheme; { } corrected grapheme.

3 Morphosyntax

This chapter provides an overview of the basic morphosyntactic structures of Maipure. The topics covered are clausal constituents—noun phrases, adpositional phrases, verb phrases, adverbs, subordinating conjunctions, and particles—and their subconstituents; clause types; and complex sentences.

3.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases (NPs) occur in our data as subjects and objects of verbed clauses, subjects and predicates of verbless clauses, and as complements of adpositions. They are headed by a pronoun or a noun. The head noun may be accompanied by one or more of these modifiers: adjectives, relative clauses, quantifiers, the limiter *pinà* 'only', numerals, demonstrative determiners, and possessor NPs.

3.1.1 Pronouns and cross-referencing prefixes

3.1.1.1 Pronouns

Three classes of pronouns have been identified: personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns.

3.1.1.1.1 Personal pronouns

Maipure has three sets of personal pronouns.

	Set I:	Set II:	Set III:
1sg	nuja	canà	-na
2sg	pìa	capì	-pi
3sgf	juja	-càu	?
3sgnf	ìa	-chè	∅[47]
1pl	uaja	cavì	-vi
2pl/3pl	nia˙	canì	?

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[47] The zero realization of this morpheme (see [183], [184], and [188]) should not be confused with the lack of an object.

Personal pronouns in set I consist of a personal cross-referencing prefix (see below §3.1.1.2) plus an element /ia/ or /ja/, while those in set II consist of an element /ka/ or /ke/ plus, apparently, a personal pronoun from set III.[48] The personal pronouns in set III, on the other hand, are unanalyzable forms that cliticize to the word preceding them, as do the third person singular forms in set II. In the three sets, second and third person plural are represented by syncretic elements and non-feminine and feminine genders are distinguished in the third person singular. Gender, which relates to sex distinctions, is straightforward for human beings and, very likely (as in other Maipuran languages), certain kinds of non-human animate beings. All inanimates are probably non-feminine (see §3.1.2.3).

The three sets of personal pronouns occur in our data as follows.

Set I:
• topicalized subjects of intransitive active verbs (see example [45]).

Set II:
• subjects of intransitive stative verbs in declarative clauses (see examples [25], [28], [74], [110], and [178]);
• subjects of non-verbal predicates in declarative clauses (see examples [23], [148], and [205]);
• objects, but not with -*macumà* and -*ri* or in neutral yes/no-questions (see examples [18], [19], [47], [82], [88], and [140]).

Set III:
• subjects of non-verbal predicates in WH-questions (see example [156]);
• objects with -*macumà* and -*ri* and in neutral yes/no-questions (see examples [93], [160], [161], and [206]).

(-*macumà* is an irrealis mood marker and -*ri* is a relativizing clitic also used to mark WH-questions and subordinate temporal and simile clauses; see §3.3.1.4(iii) and §3.3.1.5.)

There are no personal pronouns occurring as subjects of intransitive stative verbs in WH-questions, subjects of intransitive stative verbs in neutral yes/no-questions, or subjects of non-verbal predicates in neutral yes/no-questions in the material we have.

3.1.1.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The system of demonstrative pronouns is almost completely obscure. There is only an indication that these pronouns are distinguished by proximity of the referent to the speaker, number, and gender in the singular. Consider the following form from M1 (p. 345): *naìa* 'that one (non-feminine)' (It. 'quegli').

3.1.1.1.3 Interrogative pronouns

The only pronominal interrogative form recorded is *ìti* 'who, what' (see §3.8.3.1).

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[48] In other words, the pronouns of set III consist of what remains after eliminating the syllable /ka/ or /ke/ from the pronouns of set II: "[d]i questi secondi pronomi, talvolta non usano che la sola sillaba finale" (M1, p. 186–87). Note, however, that -*chè* in set II, in contrast to /ke/ plus ∅ '3sgnf', may be interpreted historically as consisting of the syllable /ka/ plus a vocalic suffix -*i* marking third person singular non-feminine (see Aikhenvald 1999:88). It is not unlikely that *kai became the CV element -/ke/ attested in our data, due to the tendency of Maipure to simplify the diphthong /ai/ in stressed syllables to /e/ (§2.7).

3.1.1.1.4 A trace of ergativity in the pronominal system

At least for personal pronouns used in declarative clauses, and assuming that, as in the other Maipuran languages, the forms employed as subjects of transitive verbs could also be employed as subjects of intransitive active verbs, Maipure displays the following pattern of split-ergativity:

$A = S_a$ with the forms from set I

$O = S_o$ with the forms from set II

(A indicates the subject of a transitive verb, O the direct object of a transitive verb, S_a the subject of an intransitive active verb, and S_o the subject of an intransitive stative verb, in agreement with Dixon 1994.) This phenomenon, normally referred to as "split-S" (see Dixon 1994:71–78), joins with another ergative property of the language evident in the data we have, namely the analogous treatment that S_o and O constituents receive as to the unmarked constituent order of declarative clauses. The S_o follows the predicate and the O follows both the A and the predicate, as illustrated by (73) and (136).

3.1.1.2 Cross-referencing prefixes

The same set of personal prefixes which mark the possessor of inalienably possessed nouns (see §3.1.2.1(i)) is used with active verbs to cross-reference the subject.

	sg.		pl.
1	nu-		ua-
2	pi-		⇑
3f	ju-		ni-
3nf	∅		⇓
impersonal		pa-	

The impersonal *pa-* indicates a generalized referent.

(1) sonicaperri cristiano vejà   pa-àni
     good   Christian reproach IMP-son
     'A good Christian reproaches his son'

(2) nuca   pa-navà   chejàpi
     NEG   IMP-see   moon
     'One does not see the moon'

(3) nuca   pa-vià   jucuà-re
     NEG   IMP-understand language-POSS
     'One does not understand his language'

The above cross-referencing prefixes also co-occur with most of the adpositions. They are used for marking a pronominal argument and, apparently, agreement with a non-pronominal argument (see §3.2).

3.1.2 Nouns

Nouns in Maipure have the following grammatical categories: possession, number, gender, noun classification, tense, and degree. Each of these is treated in a separate subsection below.

3.1.2.1 Possession

Similarly to the other Northern Maipuran languages, Maipure has three classes of nouns: (i) inalienably possessed, (ii) alienably possessed, and (iii) non-possessable.

(i) Inalienably possessed nouns are those nouns that mark possession with the cross-referencing prefixes given in §3.1.1.2. They include the following groups:

- terms for body and plant parts, e.g. *-chibucù* 'head', *-purichì* 'eye', *-chìrri* 'nose', *-ipanà* 'head hair, leaf',[49] *-ivì* 'flower', and *-tinacà* 'fruit';
- kinship terms, e.g. *-àni* 'son, daughter', *-chivacanè* 'father', *-itu* 'mother', *-ajì* 'brother', *-ajàu* 'sister', and *-purenà* 'relative';[50]
- some items that denote other things closely associated with people, e.g. *-epena* 'medicine', *-arru* 'dress', *-èpua* 'canoe', *-jàva* 'axe', *-nuapè* 'belongings', *-panà* 'house', *-naucarè* 'dwelling (house, place)', *-tètacanà* 'companion (male)', *-naunàri* 'friend (male)', *-ipunì* 'enemy', *-minàri* 'master (male)', and *-iti* 'name'.

Most of these nouns have a non-possessed form with no prefix and a suffix *-tì*:[51]

(4)	nu-urra	'my belly'	urra-tì	'belly'	
(5)	nu-arru	'my dress'	arru-tì	'dress'	
(6)	pi-naucare	'your dwelling'	naucare-tì	'dwelling'	
(7)	nu-jàva	'my axe'	java-tì	'axe'	

The exceptions are kinship terms, which are never used without a possessor, and a few items that have a suppletive counterpart that occurs in the non-possessed form (e.g. *-èpua/quata* 'canoe (possessed/non-possessed)'). Partial suppletion in the formation of non-possessed forms is also attested.

(8)	nu-panà	'my house'	pani-tì	'house'[52]	
(9)	nu-menène	'my field'	meni-tì	'field'	

(ii) Alienably possessed nouns are those nouns that mark possession with a cross-referencing prefix and one of the possessive suffixes *-re* or *-nè* (10–13); or with a cross-referencing prefix and the stem-final vowel alternation *-V# > -e#* (14–17).[53] Their non-possessed forms are always unmarked.

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[49] Etymologically a compound "hair-leaf" (Proto-Maipuran *si and *pana; cf. Baniva *-tsí:pana* 'hair'). Note that in Maipure, as well as in other languages of the Orinoco region, it is not uncommon that a body part term also refer, by semantic extension, to a plant part: "[gli Orinochesi a]lle parti diverse degli alberi danno il nome stesso, cha dar si suole alle membra di un uomo. Chiaman *capelli* le loro foglie, *braccia* i loro rami, *nervi*, e *fibre* le loro radici; e parlando di una pianta, sembra che parlino appunto di un uomo" (M1, p. 193).

[50] Interestingly, one first person singular kinship term has a different nominal form and does not have a personal cross-referencing prefix preceding it: *-itu* 'mother', *inà* 'my mother'. Another first person singular kinship term has a suppletive stem: *-chivacanè* 'father', *napài* 'my father' (cf. Resigaro *á:?pe* 'father' and Tariana *paí* 'father (vocative)').

[51] Avane *-xì* (-[hí]; cf. *jawa-xì* 'axe'), Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:38) *-ɟi*, Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:294) *-tʃì*, Proto-Maipuran (Payne 1987, 1991) *-tʃi.

[51] The word *minaritì*, the name of a statuette of chica wood whom the Maipure asked to reveal far and hidden things (M4, p. 103), apparently composed of *-minàri* 'master (male)' plus *-tì* 'non-possessed', seems to be an interesting case of lexicalization.

[52] As in other Maipuran languages, the possessed form of 'house' ends in /a/ and the stem of the non-possessed counterpart ends in /i/ (see Aikhenvald 1999:81, 2002:291).

(10)	nu-jucuà-re	'my language'	jucuà	'language'
(11)	nu-camone-r[r]e	'my people'	camonèe	'people'
(12)	ai-nè	'his chilli pepper'	aì	'chilli pepper'
(13)	suvi-nè	'his stick'	suvi	'stick'
(14)	{n}u-mànure	'my knife'	mànuri	'knife'
(15)	nu-cujarutè	'my paper'	cujarùta	'paper'
(16)	aràte	'his banana'	aràta	'banana'
(17)	marirrè	'his shaman'	marirri	'shaman'[54]

(iii) Non-possessable nouns, as is common in Maipuran languages (see Aikhenvald 1999:82), seem to include terms that refer to harmful animals, natural phenomena, astronomical bodies, and personal names.

3.1.2.2 Number

Maipure nouns have two numbers: singular, which is unmarked, and plural, which is marked with a suffix. However, as in Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:36) and Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:300), the plural marking is optional, viz. it is required only when the plurality of the item has to be particularly emphasized. The optional pluralizing suffix may be one of these:

-nè: *pecanàti-nè* 'caciques', *Otomacu-nè* 'Otomaco (people)', *urrùpu-nè* 'stars'. According to Gilij (M1, p. 185) this pluralizer (homophonous with one of the two possessive suffixes shown above) marks nouns that are not inalienably possessed ("nomi assoluti").

-ni: *nu-tètacanà* 'my companion (male)', pl. *nu-tètacanà-ni*; *nu-minàri* 'my master (male)', pl. *nu-minà-ni*.[55] According to Gilij (M1, p. 186) this suffix is reserved for inalienably possessed nouns ("nomi contratti"). Apparently, it also marks deverbal forms as, for example, *mapita-chiò-ni* 'fugitives' and *uma-chi-nì* [*sic*] 'creators'.

-pè: *tumetechì* 'boy', pl. (semi-suppletive) *tumenete-pè*.[56]

-chì: *camonèe* 'person, people', pl. *camone-chì* '(very many) people' or 'peoples'.[57]

3.1.2.3 Gender and gender agreement

As indicated in §3.1.1.1.1, Maipure has a system of two genders: feminine and non-feminine (or masculine). As a rule, gender is discernible only via the agreement of nouns with third person singular prefixes (see [18–20]) and pronouns (see [205] and [206]) and, very likely, singular demonstrative determiners. There are no gender distinctions in plural. For human referents, if not animates in general, gender relates to sex distinctions. Nouns with inanimate referents (including

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[53] Proto-Maipuran (Payne 1987, 1991) *-re and *-ne. Also the device to mark possession by ablaut has a Proto-Maipuran origin; see Payne (1987, 1991).

[54] The Yavitero and Baniva equivalent of 'shaman', *maɺíɺi*, suggests that *marirri* should be read [malíli], not [malír:i].

[55] The residual masculine marker *-ri* (see §3.1.2.7.2) is suppressed in the plural; cf. Piapoco (Klumpp 1995:52) *mìna-li* 'male inhabitant', *mìna-lu* 'female inhabitant', pl. *mìna-nái*.

[56] Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:36) *-he*; Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:300) *-pe*; Proto-Maipuran (Aikhenvald 1999:84) *-pe.

[57] In spite of the examples quoted in this subsection, which refer in most part to human beings, one should not conclude that plural marking is obligatory with nouns with human referents (cf. examples [45] and [150]).

abstract nouns) are non-feminine (see [194] and [203]).[58] Non-feminine, functionally, is therefore the unmarked gender in Maipure.

(18) pauria   Pare   Ø-seca-chè   nuche
      other   Father 3sgnf-write-3sgnf   1sg+to
      'Another Father wrote it (the letter) to me' [-*seca* = 'paint, write']

(19) umèni   Ø-menià   canà   ju-mà   Eva
      snake   3sgnf-deceive me   3sgf-say   Eva
      ' "The snake deceived me," Eve said'

(20) jaca-chè   Eva
      3sgf+eat-3sgnf   Eva
      'Eve ate it (the fruit)'

Nouns in which overt opposition of the two genders is present are few, but do exist (M1, p. 162). In these, the suffixes -*i*, -*ru*, and -*ri* mark masculine and the suffixes -*au*, -*càu* (or, perhaps, -*ràu*), and -*u* mark feminine (see §3.1.2.7.2).[59] The gender opposition is also apparent when the gender-sensitive inflectional morpheme -*mì*- 'nominal past' occurs (see below §3.1.2.5).

3.1.2.4 Noun classification

Besides gender, Maipure has two other systems of noun classification: numeral classifiers and locative classifiers.

Numeral classifiers are used with numerals from one to three (see §3.1.7). Their semantic organization is as follows:

CLASSIFIERS USED WITH 'ONE' AND 'TWO':   CLASSIFIERS USED WITH 'THREE':
(i)   human   (i)   non-temporal (human, animal, object)
(ii) animal   (ii) period of time
(iii) object
(iv) period of time

Locative classifiers occur in locative adpositional phrases. They are based, *inter alia*, on dimensionality and boundedness (see §3.2).

DIMENSIONALITY: e.g. flat
BOUNDEDNESS: e.g. with boundaries

There are no noun classifiers proper. However, a few fossilized suffixes which can be traced to an historical noun classifier, may be found in some lexical items. They include -*cù* 'container, cavity, hole'[60] in -*numacù* 'mouth' (Proto-Maipuran *numa) and -*chibucù* 'head' (Proto-Maipuran

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*kiwì),[61] -*pu* 'road'[62] in *anèpu* 'road' (Proto-Maipuran *ahtinì), -*ta* 'round'[63] in *curìta* 'land turtle' (Proto-Maipuran *hikuli* 'tortoise'), and -*pi* 'long, thin, cycle of time'[64] in *kejápi* 'moon, month' (Proto-Maipuran *kahit^hi 'moon').

3.1.2.5 Tense

The morpheme -*mì*- expresses past tense on nouns.[65] In the singular, it takes a suffix to mark gender (21, 22); in the plural it is unmarked (23).

(21) Caravàna-mi-nè   amitàmi-ca-nà-mi
      Karawana-NOM.PAST-NF   soul-??-HUMAN-REMAINS
      'the ghost of the late Karawana' [*amitàmicanàmi* = 'ghost of one who died of natural causes']

(22) Macàpu-mi-nè   vasùre-nà-mi
      Makapu-NOM.PAST-NF   devil:POSS-HUMAN-REMAINS
      'the ghost of the late Makapu' [*vasùrenàmi* = 'ghost of one killed in war or in a private feud']

(23) aràu   minà-ni-mì-Ø   canì   urrùpu-nè
      world   inhabitant-PL-NOM.PAST-PL   they   star-PL
      'The stars were inhabitants (i.e. are "ex-inhabitants") of the world'

3.1.2.6 Degree

The diminutive -*isi* (cf. *matìsi* 'small, little') indicates small size in its two attested occurrences: *tiniochì-isi* 'small woman', *Maipuri-isi* 'small Maipure'.

3.1.2.7 Nominalization and other nominal derivational devices

3.1.2.7.1 Nominalization

The suffix -*rri* 'object' nominalizes adpositions (M1, p. 190): *icuti-rri* 'thing that is inside', *epiti-rri* 'thing that is under'.

The nominalization of verb stems involves the use of different suffixes:

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[58] "Neppure i Maipùri, universalmente parlando, hanno de' generi; e quelle voci, nelle quali gli usano, non si competono che a' soli viventi ragionevoli. Gli enti irragionevoli non gli degnano di queste variazioni; e la stessa parola, che per esempio, dice dolce un melone, dice altresì dolce una mela. Ma parlandosi di persona non di rado le hanno" (M1, pp. 161–62).

[59] Cf. the non-productive gender suffixes -*li* 'masculine' and -*u* 'feminine' of Baré (Aikhenvald 1995:20) and -*ri* ~ -*li* 'masculine' and -*ru* ~ -*lu* 'feminine' of Piapoco (Klumpp 1990:67). Note also that the markers in question go back to the Proto-Maipuran third person singular cross-referencing masculine *(r)i and feminine *(r)u (Aikhenvald 2002:290).

[60] Proto-Maipuran (Payne 1991:384) *-Vku (or *-Vk^hu) 'classifier: container, cavity, hole'.

[61] Cf. also Maipure *icu* 'hole'.

[62] Cf. Baniwa of Içana and Tariana -*apu* 'classifier: stretch, limited space' (Aikhenvald 1995:21) and Proto-Maipuran *-(a)pu 'classifier: road, limited space, hollow objects' (from *(a)pu 'path') (Aikhenvald in press:292).

[63] Cf. Baniwa of Içana -*da* ~ -*dari* 'classifier: round, generic' and Tariana -*da* 'classifier: round', in all probability from Proto-Maipuran *-ta 'classifier: round' (see Aikhenvald in press:305).

[64] Cf. Baniwa of Içana (Taylor 1991:130) -*pi* 'classifier: long, thin, vertical', Tariana (Aikhenvald: forthcoming:table 5.1) -*pi* 'classifier: long, thin, vertical; cycle of time', and Proto-Maipuran (Aikhenvald in press:292) *-pi 'classifier: long, thin objects' (from *api 'snake').

[65] Cf. Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:298) -*mi* 'nominal past', Baniwa of Içana (Taylor 1991:66) -*mi* 'nominal past', Tariana (Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 9.1.2) -*miki*- 'nominal past' (probably -*mi*- plus -*ki* 'animate nominalizer'), Achagua (Wilson 1992:107–8) -*mi* 'remote past, nominal past', and Piapoco (Klumpp 1990:168–69) -*mi* 'general past, nominal past'.

- *-chì* 'agent': *uma-chì* 'creator, one who makes' (*-umà* 'make');
- *-chiò* 'agent': *mapita-chiò* 'fugitive' (*-mapìta* 'flee'), *mava-chiò* 'feverish person' (*-mavà* 'die, be ill'), *arresa-chiò* 'person saying one's prayers' (*-arresa* 'say one's prayers');
- *-chitì* 'state': *mava-chitì* 'death' (*-mavà* 'die, be ill');
- *-tì* 'object': *eca-tì* 'food' (*-èca* 'eat'), *sunuà-ta-tì* 'chair' (*-sunuà-ta* 'make sit').

In the following example the verb stem *-navà* 'see, look' is nominalized in close juncture with a following adverb of place, *nicù* 'inside': *navà-nicu-tì* 'object inside of which one sees'.

3.1.2.7.2 Other nominal derivational devices

The following affixes derive noun stems from nominal roots or other noun stems. (The first two, used only with inalienably possessed nouns, are clearly productive, as we may observe.)

(i) *ca- -chinì* 'attributive':[66] *ca-ànichivacanè-chinì* 'one who has a husband' (*-ànichivacanè* 'husband'), *ca-anìtu-chinì* 'one who has a wife' (*-anìtu* 'wife'), *ca-ani-chinì* 'one who has children' (*-àni* 'son, daughter'), *ca-chivacanè-chinì* 'one who has a father' (*-chivacanè* 'father'), *ca-nuapè-chinì* 'rich person' (*-nuapè* 'belongings').[67]

(ii) *ma- -tenì* 'privative':[68] *ma-anitu-tenì* 'one who has no wife' (*-anìtu* 'wife'), *ma-ani-tenì* 'one who has no children' (*-àni* 'son, daughter'), *matutenì* 'one who has no mother' (*-itu* 'mother'), *ma-numacu-tenì* 'one who has no mouth' (*-numacù* 'mouth'), *ma-vana-tenì* 'one who has no body' (i.e. spirit) (*-uanà* 'body').

(iii) *-mi* 'remains, something useless or gone': *purenà-mi* 'leftovers' (*-purenà* 'relative, thing of the same kind').[69]

(iv) *-manà* 'place':[70] *chipa-manà* 'stony place' (*chipa* 'stone'), *tèvita-manà* 'moriche grove' (*tèvita* 'moriche' (palm)).

(v) *-ima* 'place' (probably of Cariban origin; see M1, p. 198[71]): *vasùri-ima* 'hell' (*vasùri* 'devil') (cf. also *aàma* 'forest' and *aà* 'tree, wood').

(vi) *-nà* 'human':[72] *-vasùre-nà-mi* 'ghost of one killed in war or in a private feud' (*vasùri* 'devil' (non-possessed form), *-mi* 'remains, something useless or gone'), *-amitàmi-ca-nà-mi* 'ghost of one who died of natural causes' (*amitàmi* 'soul', *-mi* 'remains, something useless or gone').[73]

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[66] Proto-Maipuran (Matteson 1972:165) *ka-.

[67] Another noun formed with *ca- -chinì* seems to be *cajarrachinì* 'man, male', perhaps literally 'one who has a penis' (cf. Baré and Guinao *jáʌa* 'penis').

[68] Proto-Maipuran (Matteson 1972:165) *ma-. This prefix seems to be etymologically present in the semantically privative words *maisuìni* 'bad, ugly', *matibe* 'bad' (< Achagua *má:ʃibe*), and *mattìsi* 'small, little'.

[69] Cf. Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:321) *-mi* 'pejorative, wasted' and Tariana (Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 10.1) *-mi* 'remains, something useless or gone'. Albeit synchronically *-mi* 'pejorative/wasted/remains/something useless or gone' and *-mi/-mí* '(nominal) past/deceased' (see note 65) are two different morphemes in some Northern Maipuran languages, they have very likely the same origin.

[70] According to Gilij (M1, p. 198), *-manà* replaces *-vèni*, a suffix of which traces remain in several place names, as for example, the hydronym *Anavèni*, literally 'place where there is wood suitable for making mortars' according to the Italian Jesuit (*ana* 'k.o. wood').

[71] Cf., however, the classifier *-ima* 'side' of Baniwa of Içana (Aikhenvald 1996:32).

[72] Cf. Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:321) *-na* 'human' and Tariana (Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 10.2) *-na* 'people of'.

[73] Cf. Piapoco *iwàwa-ná-si* 'ghost of an unknown dead' (*iwàwa* 'soul') and *iwàwa-ná-mi* 'ghost of an evil dead'.

(vii) *-ì* 'masculine': *-aj-ì* 'brother'.

(viii) *-ru* 'masculine': *capè-ru* 'old man'.

(ix) *-ri* 'masculine': *curricàtiuà-ri* 'compassionate man', *-minà-ri* 'male master, male inhabitant', *-naunà-ri* 'male friend'.

(x) *-àu* 'feminine': *-aj-àu* 'sister'.

(xi) *-càu* (perhaps *-ràu*) 'feminine': *cape-càu* 'old woman' (cf. *capè-ru* 'old man').

(xii) *-u* 'feminine': *curricàtiuà-u* 'compassionate woman'.

Forms with the circumfix *ca- -chinì* 'attributive' or its antonym *ma- -tenì* 'privative' may also be used as adjectives and predicates (stative verbs), as suggested by the following examples.

(24)   ca-anìtu-chinì
        ATTR-son+mother-ATTR
        'one who has a wife, married'

(25)   ma-àrru-tenì   canà
        PRIV-dress-PRIV   I
        'I am naked'

3.1.2.8 Compounding

Compounding is not an uncommon process of word formation in Maipure. Compounds in the data are mainly nouns. A few numerals and adverbs, however, also compound (see §3.1.6 and §3.5).

As regards compound nouns, three structural types can be distinguished:

(i) possessive, directly corresponding to a possessive NP (see §3.1.9) and, as such, mirroring the two types of possession existing in Maipure, viz. inalienable possession, expressed without any marker of possession, and alienable possession, expressed with a suffixed marker of possession or a stem-final vowel change to /e/; observe the following examples: *-àni-chivacanè* {son-father} 'husband', *-anitu* {son+mother} 'wife' (*-àni* 'son', *-itu* 'mother'), *-ppuriki isù* {eye-body.hair} 'eyebrow',[74] *-capi-virrupenà* {hand-crack} 'finger', *mapa chivàcanè* {honey father} 'bee', *mapa icà* {honey faeces} 'wax',[75] *urrùpu saccarè* {star spit} 'dew', *vasùri ai-nè* {devil chilli.pepper-POSS} 'k.o. capsicum', *uavèmi suvi-nè* {Spaniard stick-POSS} 'lance', *currùmu aràte* {black.vulture banana:POSS} 'cambur (banana plant)' (cf. *aràta* 'banana');

(ii) noun – adjective, like *mapa panacarè* {honey planted} 'sugar cane', *urrùta curichinì* {bean black} 'k.o. bean', and *veni marichinì* {river white} 'Rio Branco';

(iii) deverbal, consisting of a verb stem (that may be followed by an adverb of place) and a subject or object constituent preposed to it, e.g. *cujarùta canià-nicù* {book be-inside} 'book case', *cantirritì canià-nicù* {candle be-inside} 'candlestick', *jema canià-nicù* {tobacco be-inside} 'snuff box', and *eca-tì cania-tà* {eat-NOMLZR be-CAUSATIVE} 'dinner table'. (Note that deverbal compound nouns can also themselves contain nominalizations.)

The degree of formal cohesion between the elements in compounds varies. The constituent elements can be juxtaposed, each retaining its status as a separate phonological word, as most of the

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[74] *-isù*, a *hapax*, is cognate with Yavitero *-itsu* 'body hair, feather' and Baniva *-wítu* 'feather' (Proto-Maipuran *iti* 'hair').

[75] Cf. Yavitero *máhatsia* 'wax' (*máha* 'bee' + *-tsiá* 'faeces'). The noun *-icà*, cognate with Yavitero *-tsiá*, is also a parallel development of Baniva *-tsiaha* 'faeces' (Proto-Maipuran *itik[a]/[i]*).

above quoted examples seem to attest. (In *urrùpu saccarè* 'dew', *vasùri ai-nè* 'k.o. capsicum', and other examples each component apparently takes a main stress.) Alternatively, the formal bond between the constituents can be tighter, as in *-anìtu* 'wife' where two linked nouns (as indicated above *-àni* 'son' and *-itu* 'mother') show coalescence of identical vowels and only a single primary stress.

3.1.3 Adjectives

Adjectives occur both attributively, usually following the head noun, and predicatively, preceding the subject, as stative verbs.

Unlike in the closely related Yavitero and Baniva, adjectives in Maipure seem to have (in the attributive use) the grammatical category of number: *mattìsi* 'small, little', pl. (semi-suppletive) *mattita-pè*.[76]

To indicate that the quality expressed by an adjective holds in a large degree, the suffix *-minè* is employed (27).

Like in other Northern Maipuran languages (e.g. Baniva and Tariana), adjectives can be used headlessly.

(26) pi-vèka   vettuà   maisuini
      2sg-take.away   1pl+from   bad
      'Take the bad (things) away from us'

Many adjectives also function as adverbs in other contexts (see also §3.4).

(27) aà   tinacà   sonirri-minè
      tree   fruit   beautiful-AUG
      'a very beautiful (tree) fruit'

(28) sonirri-càu
      be.good-3sgf
      'She is good'

(29) ni-cània-cà-u   sonirri
      3pl-be-CLOS-INTR   well
      'They (Adam and Eve) would have been well'

3.1.4 Relative clauses

NPs may also be modified by a post-head relative clause (see §3.9.2.3).

3.1.5 Quantifiers

The data contains only a couple of modifiers denoting quantity: *ebacarì* 'many' and *ununà* 'all'. In (30) *ebacarì* is preposed to the head. In (180) *ununà* appears to be used headlessly.

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(30) ebacarì   camonèe
      many   man
      'many men'

3.1.6 Limiter *pinà* 'only'

The limiter function is manifested in our corpus by *pinà* 'only', a modifier that follows the head.

(31) ussi   pinà
      manioc   only
      'only manioc'

(32) Piòsu   pin{à}   camonèe   uma-chì-rri
      God   only   man   make-NOMLZR-EMPH
      'Only God is the (true) creator of man'

The limiter *pinà* is also part of a few compound adverbs in the material we have (33, 34, 75, 109).

(33) arè-pinà
      ??-only
      'here'[77]

(34) juàni-pinà
      (be.)near-only
      'nearby'

3.1.7 Numerals

The only other feature of the simple NP about which information is available is the numeral system (see also §3.5) which is built on the basis of these elements:

pa- -ta / pa- -àta / ma- -à	'one'
a- -nume	'two'
apèchi- (M10: *peyiveyi*)	'three'
apèapèchipachì (M10: *yalivac* [*sic*])	'four'

The following classifiers are infixed into the numerals 'one' and 'two' in counting things of various kinds or nature:

-pài- / -va- ~ -pa-	human
-vì-	animal
-ki-	object
-puchi- / -pucù-	period of time

For the number 'three', M4 (p. 333) lets us suppose that the involved classifiers are only *-và*, used for people (and human body parts), animals, and objects, and *-pucu*, used for units of time: *papàita* (or *papèta*) 'one', *avanùme ~ apanume* 'two', *apechivà* 'three (human)'; *paviàta* 'one', *avìnume*

'two', *apechivà* 'three (animals)'; *pachiàta* 'one', *achinume* 'two', *apechivà* 'three (object *mapuchià* 'one', *apucùnumè* 'two', *apèchipucu* 'three (periods of time)'.

(35) papèta   camonèe
       one+CL:HUMAN   man
       'one man'

(36) avìnume   arràu
       two+CL:ANIMAL   turtle
       'two river turtles'

(37) achinumè   tivàu
       two+CL:OBJECT   pot
       'two pots'

(38) apèchipucu   pècumi
       three+CL:TIME   day
       'three days'

Numerals appear only in prenominal position in our data. In the example that follows, numeral 'one' in conjunction with *nipinuà* expresses a distributive meaning.[78]

(39) nu-taà   niche   mànuri   pachiàta   nipinuà
       1sg-give   2pl/3pl+to knife   one+CL:OBJECT   ??
       'I will give a knife to you/them one by one'

3.1.8 Demonstrative determiners

No examples of demonstrative NPs are available, but it is likely that these contained, as a modi of the head, the same forms which are used alone as demonstrative pronouns, as occurs in m other Northern Maipuran languages (including Baniva, Tariana, Baré, Achagua, and Piapoco).

3.1.9 Possessor noun phrases

In a possessive NP, the possessor is followed by the possessed. The latter does not seem to agree number, and gender in the singular, with the possessor, unlike in the closely related Yavit (Mosonyi 1987:37) and Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:295). The possessed element occurs in posses form if it is an alienably possessed noun (§3.1.2.1(ii)), and receives the zero-realization of the th person singular masculine prefix.[79]

(40) previàrio   arru
       breviary   dress
       'breviary case'

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(41) pecanàti   anìtu
       cacique   son+mother
       'cacique's wife'

(42) Maipùri   naucarè
       Maipure   dwelling
       'dwelling(s) of the Maipure'

(43) uavèmi   marirrè
       white.person   shaman:POSS
       'shaman of the Whites'

3.1.10 Noun phrases in apposition

Apposition between two NPs can occur and consists of a juxtaposition of the two NPs.

(44) taà   juti   Eva
       give   3sgf+name   Eve
       'He (God) gave her name Eve (i.e. he called her Eve)'

(45) jacàpi   ua-mava-cà   uajà[80]   ni-tianimì[81]   sapàni   nuca   ni-tturùpa   Piòsu[i]
       now   1pl-die-CLOS   we   3pl-child   because   NEG   3pl-obey   God

       (i)che
       to
       'Now we, their children (sons), die because they (Adam and Eve) did not obey God'

The second NP may serve to "clarify" the first one, as in (44), or it may be a kind of modification, as in (45).

3.1.11 Ellipsis

The head of an NP may be elided when its identity is readily recoverable from the context.

(46) nuca   uma-macumà   ebacarì   camonèe   —   avanumè   Ø   pinà   umà
       NEG   make-IRR   many   man   —   two+CL:HUMAN   only   make
       'He (God) did not make many men. He made only two (men)'

3.2 Adpositional phrases

All adpositions are apparently used as postpositions in Maipure, but it is possible that some of them (see *-iche* 'to (dative, directional)' in [47], following) are also used as prepositions (particularly in phrases that contain another adposition).

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[78] "[Gli Orinochesi s]uppliscono similmente con particole il distributivo ognuno" (M1, p. 167); Yavitero *hasiána huliána nu-tá ni-jé katsúna* {one all 1sg-give 3pl-for trousers} 'I give a pair of trousers them one by one' and *ni-ḷá tsináha huliána* {2pl-go two all} 'Go two by two' (Mosonyi 1987:78).

[79] Just like in Baré (see Aikhenvald 1995:14).

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[80] Read *uàja*.

[81] Cf. Baniva *-ḟiáni* 'child, son' and Yavitero *-ḷíhani* 'child, son, fetus'. The final syllable of *-tianimì* might be a non-productive suffix cognate with Baniva *-mi* 'human' (see Aikhenvald 1998:321).

(47) niapà   uanacarè   Angeli   terruà   canì   Paraiso   iquà   iche   peni
      then   order   angel   chase.out   them   Paradise   from   to   earth

      ua-ccanià-ri-o   iatì
      1pl-be-REL-INTR   on.FLAT
      'Then he ordered an angel to chase them out of Paradise to the earth on which we are'

Personal cross-referencing (§3.1.1.2) seems to be obligatory with most adpositions independently of whether the NP argument is overtly expressed or not.

(48) turà   niacà   Eva   juche
      speak   also   Eve   3sgf+to
      'He (God) spoke to Eve, too'

(49) peca-chè   ma   juche
      2sg+eat-3sgnf   say   3sgf+to
      ' "Eat it (the fruit)," he (the devil) said to her (Eve)'

(50) ma   niche
      say   3pl+to
      'He (God) said to them (Adam and Eve)'

The following forms ('to me', 'to you', etc.) show the adposition *-iche* with the various cross-referencing prefixes, except the impersonal one.[82]

	sg.	pl.
1	nuche	uaìche ~ vechè [*sic*] ~ uajùche
2	piche	⇑
3f	juche	nìche
3nf	ìche	⇓

The following example shows what appears to be a prefixless adposition: *ve* 'like, as'.[83]

(51) queti   ve   canì   naumarì   ni-mapita-cà-u
      beast   like   they   therefore   3pl-flee-CLOS-INTR
      'They are like beasts, therefore they flee'

Other adpositions in the data are *-tàmi* 'with (comitative)', *-vichinì* 'with (comitative)', *-inà* 'with (comitative, instrumental)', *-ituà* 'from', *-iquà* 'from, through', *-epitì* 'under', *-ipuntà* 'beyond',[84] and *-piàu* 'before (reference to time)'.[85]

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[82] *-iche* may apparently also function without an NP argument and/or personal cross-referencing as an adverb: *sonirri-minè ni-cania-cà-u iche* {well-AUG 3pl-be-CLOS-INTR there} 'They found themselves to be very well there (lit. they were very well there)' (M1, p. 209: 'Benissimo stettero ivi').

[83] Possibly cognate with Yavitero *witsa* 'like, as' and, like *witsa*, also used in a lexicalized construction meaning 'a lot', *ve napì* (Yavitero *witsáini*, underlyingly *witsa-ini*, literally 'like this'): Maipure *ve napì pitaà* 'Give (sg.) a lot' (M1, p. 304: 'dammene tanti'), Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:230) *hinta hénana witsáini* 'Don't (sg.) eat a lot'.

[84] Cf. Achagua *-hú:nta* 'opposite, in front of'. The initial /i/ of *-ipuntà* is probably a fossilized indefinite cross-referencing marker (cf. the indefinite prefix *i-* of Baniwa of Içana and Tariana marking, in both languages, a non-pronominal argument of a prefixed adposition; see Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 6.1.2) likely also present in the adpositions *-iche* 'to' (Proto-Maipuran *-ki* 'generalized locative'; Payne 1991:380)

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(52) Pero   tami
      Peter   with
      'with Peter'

(53) pèca   ussi   nu-vichinì
      2sg+eat   manioc   1sg-with
      'Eat manioc with me' (i.e. have a dinner with me)

(54) . . .   veià   pi-jàsa-ri   vi-ina
      . . .   as   2sg-want-REL   1pl-with
      '. . . as you want together with us'

(55) suvi   inà
      stick   with
      'with a stick'

(56) tà-ma-u[86]   niapà   ni-ituà
      go-PAST-INTR   then   3pl-from
      'Then he (God) went away from them (Adam and Eve)'

(57) Roma   iquà
      Rome   from/through
      'from Rome, through Rome'

(58) aà   epitì
      tree   under
      'under the tree'

(59) paràna   ipuntà
      sea   beyond
      'beyond the sea' (M4: 'the other side of the sea')

(60) nu-turà   niche   piàu
      1sg-speak   2pl+to   before
      'I speak to you before it (the holiday)'

The following set of forms function as locative adpositions meaning 'in' or 'on': *-iatì, -ipatì, -ibatì, -icutì, -pachitì, -chi, -inà*. (The last of these elements is identical in shape to the comitative/instrumental adposition, we may observe.)

(61) peni   iatì
      ground   on.FLAT
      'on the ground'

---

and *-iquà* 'from, through' (probably cognate with the perlative/elative suffix *-wa* of Yavitero and the perlative/transformative suffix *-wa* of Baniva; see Mosonyi 1987:55 and Aikhenvald 1998:290).

[85] Cf. Baniva *-piátu* 'in/to front, before'. It is not clear if *-piàu* was also used with a spatial meaning.

[86] The accent should be relocated on *-ma*.

(62) ipinà   iatì
      plaza   on.FLAT
      'in the plaza'

(63) cujarùta   ipatì
      paper   on.??
      'on the paper'

(64) japa   ibatì
      mountain   on.??
      'on the mountain'

(65) pinàti   icutì
      village   in.BOUNDED
      'in the village'

(66) pèpuri   icutì
      meadow   in.BOUNDED
      'in the meadow'

(67) nuà   canì   Paraiso Terrestre   icutì
      put.down them   Earthly Paradise   in.BOUNDED
      'He (God) put them (Adam and Eve) down into the Earthly Paradise'

(68) aà   pachitì
      tree   on.??
      'on the tree'

(69) Roma   chi
      Rome   in.??
      'in Rome'[87]

(70) nu-sunùa-cà-u   nu-cumàrachì   inà
      1sg-sit-CLOS-INTR   1sg-knee   on.??
      'I sit on my knees' (i.e. I kneel)

The choice of these forms depends on the physical properties of the referent of the head noun: "le particelle pospositive son tante, quante per ordinario sono le cose, a cui si adattano; e fa duopo [sic] di memoria somma per ritenerle. Una in un caso, altre in altri casi si adoperano", Gilij writes (M1, p. 173).[88] -iatì, for example, was apparently used with nouns designating flat objects like peni 'earth, ground' (61) and ipinà 'plaza' (62); while -icutì was probably used with nouns designating objects extended in two or three dimensions and perhaps, according to the indigenous world view, with boundaries, like pinàti 'village' (65), pèpuri 'meadow' (66), eno 'sky' (105), and also Paraiso Terrestre 'Earthly Paradise' (67).[89]

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[87] Note that Gilij (M1, p. 190) also translates 'in Rome' as Roma icutì.

[88] Similar sets of adpositions, termed "locative classifiers", have been noticed in a number of other northern Amazonian languages, both Maipuran and non-Maipuran (see Aikhenvald and Green 1998:456–59 and Aikhenvald 2000:172–76).

[89] Just like -iku in Palikur, a Northern Maipuran language spoken along the Oiapoque and Urucaiá rivers (Amapá, Brazil, and adjacent areas of French Guyana; see Aikhenvald and Green 1998:457).

3.3 Verb phrases

A verb phrase may consist of either a single verb or more than one verb in series (see §3.3.2).

3.3.1 Verbs

Verbs in Maipure follow the typical Maipuran pattern of dividing into two classes, namely active versus stative. Active verbs occur with cross-referencing prefixes marking the subject and usually (but not always; see [72]) describe actions. Stative verbs do not have any cross-referencing and normally describe states or conditions.

(71) naca
      1sg+eat
      'I ate'

(72) pi-sènichi
      2sg-be.stingy
      'you are stingy'

(73) sonirri   canà
      be.good   I
      'I am good'

(74) pauria   canì
      be.another   they
      'they are others (i.e. non-Maipure)'

According to the category of transitivity, active verbs may be intransitive, transitive, or have either transitivity value, such as -turà 'speak, speak a language', used in (75) without a direct object and in (196) with a direct object.

(75) avinì   —   ua-mejamè   —   manàni-pinà   ua-turà
      INTERJ   —   1pl-forget   —   ?by.oneself-only   1pl-speak
      'Oh, indeed? We forgot. We spoke just to speak'

Ditransitive active verbs also occur. Examples are -taà 'give', -tùca 'bring', and -ica 'show'. It is possible that these verbs also had a "monotransitive" usage. -taà 'give', for example, is found in the idiomatic expression 'give one's own heart', i.e. 'grieve, become sad', without an indirect object, as illustrated by (188).

The transitivity status of a small number of active verbs is indicated morphologically. Verbs with the suffix -u are all intransitive (see §3.3.1.1 below), but, it has to be noted, not every intransitive verb is marked by -u.

(76) nu-sunùa-cà-u
      1sg-sit-CLOS-INTR
      'I sit'

From the point of view of transitivity, all stative verbs are intransitive.

3.3.1.1 Stem closure *-cà* and intransitive suffix *-u*

A characteristic feature of Maipure (and Avane) verbal morphology is the use of the suffix *-cà*, an "empty morph" attached to certain active (mainly intransitive) verb stems, which cannot occur word-finally.[90]

(77) nuca   ni-mava-cà
      NEG   2pl-die-CLOS
      'You will not die'

(78) nu-puria-cà   ni-jucuà-re
      1sg-tell-CLOS   2pl-talk-POSS
      'I tell your talk (i.e. I speak to you)'

Most of the intransitive active verb stems that are required to be "closed" by *-cà*, in turn, also require the suffixation of *-u* (another element devoid of semantic content). This element follows *-cà* or any other inflectional suffix or enclitic that occurs.[91]

(79) nu-vichìna   nu-chieca-cà-u
      1sg-finish   1sg-stand.up-CLOS-INTR
      'I end up standing up'

(80) ta-mà-u
      go-PAST-INTR
      'he went'

When *-u* is added to the unstressed enclitic *-ri* 'relative', the shape of the suffix is -[o] (see §2.2.1). Compare (81a) and (81b) below:

(81) (a) ua-cania-ca-u   peni   iati
          1pl-be-CLOS-INTR   earth   on.FLAT
          'We are on earth'

(81) (b) peni   ua-cania-ri-o   iatì
          earth   1pl-be-REL-INTR   on.FLAT
          'the earth on which we live (are)'

Added to the tense marker *-macù* 'future₁', *-u* coalesces with the preceding /u/ and does not surface (§2.6.1); so our written records indicate.

Given their co-occurrence with some stems and not others, the suffixes *-cà* and *-u* can be seen as verb stem classifiers that together definite three arbitrary classes:

(i) potentially-final (or potentially-closing) active verb stems. Examples are *-èca* 'eat', *-càca* 'hear', *-sisuà* 'smell', *-navà* 'see, look', *-ma* 'say', *-paà* 'touch', *-nuà* 'come', and *-jatànapà* 'sweat'.

(ii) active verbs stems that cannot occur word-finally and do not co-occur with *-u*. Examples are *-purià* 'tell', *-arresa* 'say one's prayers', *-nua* 'paddle', *-ima* 'sleep', and *-mavà* 'die, be ill'.

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[90] Cf. Avane *nu-xa-cà-u* {1sg-go-CLOS-INTR} 'I go' (M1, p. 203: 'Io vado').
[91] This is also the case in Avane (see notes 90 and 93). In Achagua (Wilson 1992:30–31) and the closely related Piapoco (Klumpp 1990:87, 101–2), the suffixes *-u* and *-wa*, respectively, are attached to some intransitive verbs, but these also have a detransitivizing role with some transitive verbs, in all probability unlike Maipure and Avane *-u*.

(iii) (intransitive) active verbs stems that cannot occur word-finally and require the suffixation of *-u*. Examples are *-ta* 'go', *-mapìta* 'flee', *-chieca* 'stand up', *-sunuà* 'sit', *-canià* 'be, stay', *-merra* 'appear, show oneself', *-meniqua* 'hide oneself', and *-neca* 'be ashamed'.[92]

The potentially-final active verb stem class is by far the largest of the three. Approximately three-quarters (exactly 39 out of 53) of the active verb stems in our corpus are of this type. Stems that cannot occur word-finally and co-occur with *-u* represent by far the smallest class. Approximately one ninth of the attested active verb stems (6 out of 53) are thus characterized.

3.3.1.2 Tense

As happens in the majority of Maipuran languages, clauses are not obligatorily marked for tense in Maipure. Commonly, as we may observe in the text in M1 (see chapter §4), unmarked verb forms were used with an explicit time expression to specify the time reference if necessary (82, 138).

(82) nuca   ni-mava-cà   ma   menia-càu   Vasùri
      NEG   2pl-die-CLOS   say   deceive-3sgf   devil
      ' "You will not die," the devil said deceiving her (lit. (and) he deceived her)'

The following tense markers could be optionally employed.

(i) *-mà* 'past' (M1, p. 188: 'preterito').[93]

(83) nu-nava-mà
      1sg-see-PAST
      'I saw'

(84) Eva   (ju-)ta-mà-u   ju-navà   naucare-tì
      Eve   3sgf-go-PAST-INTR   3sgf-see   dwelling-NPOSS
      'Eve went to see the dwelling place'

(ii) *-macù* 'future₁' (perhaps 'near future').

(85) nu-nava-macù
      1sg-see-FUT₁
      'I will see'

(iii) *-chiacò* 'future₂', viz. a second future tense marker of uncertain function (probably a general future marker): "[un verbo d]ivien poi futuro mettendovi la particella *macù*, ovvero *chiacò*" (M1, p. 188).

(86) nu-navà-chiacò
      1sg-see-FUT₂
      'I will see'

---

[92] Most of the Piapoco equivalents of these verbs, i.e. *-à* 'go', *-pìa* 'run, flee', *-kawà:* 'stand up', *-awina* 'sit', and *-báinia* 'be ashamed', occur with *-wa* 'intransitive' (see Klumpp 1995).
[93] A morpheme with the same shape and meaning occurs in Avane; cf. *ta-mà-u* {go-PAST-INTR} 'he went' (M1, p. 156: 'andò').

(87) juccumari-uati-chiacò   nu-nuà
      winter-when-FUT₂   1sg-come
      'I will come in the winter (i.e. in the rainy season)'

Though it is commonly found attached to verbs (see [86], [176], and [183]), -chiacò is not a suffix, but an enclitic that undergoes (or may undergo) movement to adverbs in clause-initial position (see [87] and [123]). The other two tense markers are so rare in our textual material that is impossible to determine if they were used exclusively with active verbs, as it appears, or not.

3.3.1.3 Aspect

There seems to be only one aspect marker in the Maipure corpus. The marker in question is -ina 'continuative' (M2: 'ancora').[94]

(88) pi-kinanà   cavi veià ua-kinana-ri-ina   matibe-ri cania-ca-u   ua-ike
      2sg-forgive us   as   1pl-forgive-REL-CONT   be.bad-REL be-CLOS-INTR   1pl-to
      'Forgive us, as we are forgiving those who are bad to us'

3.3.1.4 Mood

The following markers are modal. They only occur attached to active verb stems in our data. It is therefore not possible to establish the affixal or clitic status of these elements.

(i) -naunà 'purposive' (apparently optional; see §3.9.2.2.3).

(89) pi-taà   nuche sapo   nu-navà-naunà   nu-puricù
      2sg-give 1sg+to mirror 1sg-look-PURPOSIVE   1sg-face
      'Give me the mirror to look at my face'

(ii) -panicà 'optative': "[l]a particella panicà (in latino utinam) fa il modo ottativo" (M1, p. 188).

(90) ni-vià-pànica[95]   piti
      3pl-know-OPTATIVE   2sg+name
      'May they know your name'

(iii) -macumà 'irrealis'.[96] The following construction was chosen by Gilij as representative of the conditional or counterfactual force of sentences containing a verb with -macumà.

(91) naà nu-ta-cà-u   aàma   iche nu-tùca-macumà   piche   catti
      if 1sg-go-CLOS-INTR tree+PLACE to   1sg-bring-IRR   2sg+to firewood
      'If I go to the forest, I will bring you some firewood; If I had gone to the forest, I would have brought you some firewood'

Clauses with -macumà, however, are not necessarily structurally apodoses; they can be used to speak of events not taking place and unactualized possibilities also without a preceding if-clause.

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[94] Cf. Yavitero -na 'continuative' (Mosonyi 1987:65) and Proto-Maipuran *-ena 'progressive, gerund, continuative existential' (Payne 1991:381).

[95] A misprint in the original source for -panicà.

[96] This marker may be analyzed as -macù 'future₁' plus -mà 'past'.

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(92) nuca   uma-macumà   ebacarì   camonèe
      NEG   make-IRR   many   man
      'He (God) did not make many men'

-macumà also signals a warning, as illustrated by the following examples.

(93) nu-mià-macumà-pi[97]
      1sg-kill-IRR-2sg
      'I'll kill you!' (a common reproach)

(94) ua-mavà-macumà
      1pl-die-IRR
      'We might die'

(95) nuca   neca-chè   . . . ni-mavà-macùmà
      NEG   2pl+eat-3sgnf   . . . 2pl-die-IRR
      'Don't eat it (the fruit) . . . you might die'

(iv) -nicapì 'perhaps (uncertainty)' (cf. the tag-question marker nicà; §3.8.3.2(ii)).

(96) nu-nava-nicapì
      1sg-see-PERHAPS
      'perhaps I saw'

(v) -parè 'hearsay'. It signals that the speaker is not an eyewitness of the events being described: "[s]i [sic] Tamanachi, come Maipùri raccontando una cosa da sé non veduta, interpongono una particella, della quale si conosce che l'han sentita; ed equivale al nostro si dice. . . . parè, o paràu [è] quella de' Maipuri" (M1, p. 194). It is the sole evidential present in our material.

(97) ta-para-u   mià   timachì
      go-HEARSAY-INTR   kill fish
      'One says he went to fish (lit. kill fish)'

As indicated in §2.6.1, the final vowel of -parè is retracted to /a/ when this morpheme precedes the suffix -u 'intransitive'.

(vi) -macà 'prohibitive': "[s]enonchè anche i Maipùri hanno il proibitivo, come i Tamanachi; ed è la particella macà posposta al verbo" (M1, p. 188).

(98) pi-navà-macà
      2sg-look-PROH
      'don't look'

(99) pi-jàsa-macà
      2sg-love-PROH
      'don't love'

As (112) and (181) suggest, the negator nucà added before an imperative verb marks prohibitive mood without the presence of -macà.

The indicative mood is unmarked. Inevitably, if a zero-marked verb stem cannot occur in word-final position, it takes the suffix -cà as the closing element.

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[97] Note that -pi is not accented in (156) and (161).

(100) ni-navà
        2pl/3pl-see
        'you/they see'

(101) nu-neca-cà-u
        1sg-be.ashamed-CLOS-INTR
        'I am ashamed'

Imperatives (positive), do not differ from the second person indicative forms (M1, pp. 188 and 307).

(102) ni-navà
        2pl-look
        'look'

(103) pi-kinanà   cavi
        2sg-forgive us
        'Forgive us'

(104) uaca   —   peca   purenà-mi
        1pl+eat —   2sg+eat   relative-REMAINS
        'We have eaten. Eat the leftovers' [-purenà = 'relative, thing of the same kind']

3.3.1.5 Relative forms

Relative verb forms are marked by the clitic -ri (81b, 197). However, -ri is not restricted to relative clauses; it also marks WH-questions (see §3.8.3.1), one type of subordinate temporal clause (see §3.9.2.2.1), and subordinate clauses of similarity (see §3.9.2.2.2).

The clitic-like nature of -ri, whereby it undergoes (or may undergo) movement to locative adpositional phrases in clause-initial position, is illustrated by the following example.

(105) ua-kivacane eno   icuti-ri   pi-cania-(ca)-u
        1pl-father   sky   in.BOUNDED-REL 2sg-be-CLOS-INTR
        'Our Father who art in heaven'

3.3.1.6 Temporal subordinate forms

Besides being marked by the relativizing clitic -ri, verbs (predicates) of temporal subordinate clauses, of one of the two attested types, receive the suffix (or enclitic) -uati 'when', as shown in §3.9.2.2.1. This element also marks, following the morpheme -pucùmi, the verb (predicate) of the other type of subordinate clauses present in the data (see §3.9.2.2.1), can be used with the two nouns which designate seasons in Maipure (87, 106), and appears in the idiomatic, complex adverbs in (107–109).

(106) camotì-uati
        summer-when
        'in the summer (i.e. in the dry season)'

(107) pàuria-uàti
        other-when
        'afterwards'

(108) uàti-rri-uàti
        when-EMPH-when
        'at that time'

(109) naà   pinà-uàti   turà
        if   only-when   speak
        'Thus he spoke'

3.3.1.7 Degree forms

Stative verbs, as well as (attributive) adjectives and adverbs of manner, have an augmentative degree form marked by the suffix -minè.

(110) cunè-minè-chè
        be.sweet-AUG-3sgnf
        'It (the fruit) is very sweet'

(111) cunè-minè   ju-nàva-chè
        sweetly-AUG   3sgnf-look-3sgnf
        'She (Eve) looked at it (the fruit) with great relish'

3.3.1.8 Morphological and syntactic causatives

As suggested by the semantics of two morphologically complex nouns in the word list in M1—i.e. sunuà-ta-tì 'chair', in which -sunuà-ta might well convey the sense 'make sit' (-sunuà 'sit', -tì 'nominalizer'), and eca-tì canìa-tà 'dinner table', in which -canìa-tà might well mean 'make be, make stay' (eca-tì {eat-NOMLZR} 'food', -canìà 'be, stay')—active verbs (or some of them) can be causativized by adding the suffix -tà to the stem.[98]

Like Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:68) and Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:239), Maipure has both morphological and syntactic causatives. Syntactic causatives (that must be distinguished from the serial verb constructions discussed below in §3.3.2) are formed in our corpus by using the verbs -vèka 'let' (permissive causative) and -uanacarè 'order, command, send' (ordering causative).

(112) nuca   pi-vèka   vasuri   menià   cavi
        NEG   2sg-let   devil   deceive us
        'Do not let the devil deceive us'

(113) niapà   uanacarè   Angeli   terruà   canì   Paraiso   iquà   iche   peni
        then   order   angel   chase.out them Paradise from   to   earth

        ua-ccanià-ri-o   iatì
        1pl-be-REL-INTR on.FLAT
        'Then he (God) ordered an angel to chase them (Adam and Eve) out of Paradise to the earth on which we live (are)'

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[98] Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987:68) and Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:366) -ta, Proto-Maipuran (Wise 1990:112) *-tʰa.

3.3.1.9 Verbalizer

The suffix -*à* derives the active verb stem -*capià* 'bring, take' from the nominal root -*càpi* 'hand'.[99] Other roots seem to function both as nominal and active verb stems: *tià* 'rain', *tià* 'it rains' (M8: 'piovere'); *nau* 'paddle', *nau-cà* {paddle-CLOS} 'he paddles' (M1, p. 300: 'remate' [*sic*]).

3.3.2 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions, an areal property of the Maipuran languages of southern Venezuela and Colombia (see Aikhenvald 1999:98), occur in the Maipure data at our disposal with the following features and values.

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION FEATURES:
presence of no more than two components, one of which is a phase verb, a stance verb, a modal verb, or a motion verb;
shared subject;
functional semantic unity of the whole expression;
shared polarity;
shared tense or mood specifications.

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION VALUES:
aspectual;
modal;
directional.

(i) The few examples of aspectual serial verb constructions that we have include the verbs -*vichinà* 'finish', expressing completion, and -*canià* 'be, stay', apparently imparting a progressive or habitual meaning (see [115] and [116]; cf. analogous constructions in Baré; Aikhenvald 1995:41).

(114)   nu-vichìna   nu-turà
        1sg-can/finish 1sg-speak
        'I finish speaking, I can speak'

(115)   matibe-ri   cania-ca-u   ua-ike
        be.bad-REL be-CLOS-INTR   1pl-to
        'The one who is bad to us'

(116)   maisuini-ri   cania-cà-u   ta-cà-u   catti (i)che
        be.bad-REL   be-CLOS-INTR   go-CLOS-INTR   hell   to
        'The one who is bad goes to hell' [*catti* = 'fire, firewood, hell']

Note however that, since -*vichinà* also means 'can',[100] a serial verb construction formed with this verb expresses a completive aspectual meaning as well as a potential modal meaning. (Context would then disambiguate clauses like [114].)

(ii) Modal serial verb constructions in our data contain, besides -*vichinà*, the verbs -*jàsa* 'want' and -*seccàcuni* 'know how to'.

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(117)   ni-jàsa   ni-ta-cà-u   Vasùri-ima   iche
        3pl-want   3pl-go-CLOS-INTR devil-PLACE   to
        'They want to go to hell'

(118)   nuca   ua-seccàcuni   ua-mià   tim{a}chì
        NEG   1pl-know.how.to   1pl-kill   fish
        'We do not know how to fish (lit. kill fish)'

(119)   nuca   seccàcuni   camonèe   nupà   manàni
        NEG   know.how.to   man   be.born   ?by.oneself[101]
        'Man does not know how to be born by himself'

(iii) Directional serial verb constructions appear to be formed with the motion verbs -*ta* 'go' and -*nuà* 'come'.

(120)   niapà   ju-ta-cà-u   ju-tùca   purenà   ju-ccàpi   iche
        then   3sgf-go-CLOS-INTR 3sgf-bring   relative 3sgf-hand   to
        'Then she (Eve) went to bring another similar thing (another fruit; lit. its relative) back in her hand'

(121)   ju-nuà   ju-vì   aa   tinacà neca-ma(ca)-chè   Piosu
        3sgf-come   3sgf-be.in.front tree   fruit   2pl+eat-PROH-3sgnf God

        ma-pucùmi-uati
        say-??-when
        'She (Eve) came to be in front of the (tree) fruit, after God had said "Don't eat it (the fruit)" '

Examples (118), (119), and (146) illustrate that the negator *nuca* added before the first component of a serial verb construction negates the whole construction. Examples (84), (97), and (115) show that two verbs in series receive only a single tense marker, a single modal marker, and a single relative marker and that the markers in question go on the first verb. The sentence in (119) suggests that a serial verb construction may be interrupted by a subject NP moved from its canonical clause-initial position.

3.4 Adverbs

Adverbs may simple, derived, or compound (see §3.1.6). The suffix -*epì* is used to derive adverbs with a temporal meaning from at least two nouns: *pècumi-epì* 'during the day, by day', *jatti-epì* 'during the night, at night'.[102] Many forms have multiple word class membership; they can be used as an adjective, stative verb, or adverb without intervening affixes.

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[99] Proto-Maipuran (Wise 1990) *-a.

[100] Cf. also the polysemy of Yavitero -*je* 'finish, can, must', Baré -*jéhe* 'finish, can, manage', Piapoco -*dé* 'finish, can, manage', and Baniwa of Içana -*ṭáita* 'finish, can'.

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[101] The meaning and the class membership of *manàni* are dubious. There is also uncertainty as to the exact meaning of *manànipinà*, which is apparently an adverb containing *manàni* (see example [75]).

[102] Another derived temporal adverb in our data uses the diminutive -*isi* (§3.1.2.6) and yet another uses -*tàmi* (a suffix that does not appear anywhere else in our material): *jacàpi* 'today, now', *jacàpi-isi* 'right now' (cf. Spanish *ahorita*); *papujà* 'at first', *papuja-tàmi* 'long time ago'. A further suffix used to derive temporal adverbs seems to be -*uati* (see §3.3.1.6).

(122) maisuìni-che
be.bad-3sgnf
'He is bad'

(123) maisuìni-chiacò   pi-cania-cà-u
badly-FUT₂   2sg-be-CLOS-INTR
'You will live badly'

3.5 Numeral phrases and clauses

Numbers higher than four are based on phrases (124, 126, 128–130) or clauses (125, 127).

(124) papèta[e]-rri   capì-ti[103]
one+CL:HUMAN-EMPH   hand-NPOSS
'five' (lit. only one single hand)[104]

(125) papeta   janà[105]   pa{u}ria   capì-ti   purenà
one+CL:HUMAN   ??   other   hand-NPOSS   relative
'six' (M3: 'One takes one from the other hand) [-purenà = 'relative, thing of the same kind']

(126) apanumè-rri   capì-ti
two+CL:HUMAN-EMPH   hand-NPOSS
'ten' (lit. just two hands)

(127) papèta   janà   chi-ti   purena
one+CL:HUMAN   ??   toe-NPOSS   relative
'eleven' (M3: 'One takes one of the toes')

(128) papèta   camonèe
one+CL:HUMAN   man
'twenty'

(129) avanùme   camonèe
two+CL:HUMAN   man
'forty'

(130) apekivà   camonèe
three+CL:NON-TEMPORAL   man
'sixty'

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[103] Read *capi-tì* here and in the following examples.

[104] Humboldt (M10) records 'five' as *yaviyi*.

[105] Perhaps cognate with Tariana -*djánata* 'follow'; cf. the numeral 'six' in Tariana (Aikhenvald forthcoming:sec. 11.8), *peme-kapí pá:-na djánata-na* {one+SIDE+INDEFINITE-HAND one-CL:VERTICAL follow-CL:VERTICAL}, literally 'the side of one hand and one which follows'.

3.6 Conjunctions

The adverb *niacà* 'also', positioned after NPs (131, 188) and verb phrases (48, 132), has a co-ordinating function. As with English *also* or *too*, the element followed by *niacà* is and-coordinated to the corresponding element in some previously-stated/implied clause.

(131) nuja   niacà
I   also
'I, too . . .'

(132) umà   cajarrachinì — Atàni-rri   iti   — umà   niacà tiniochi   —
make   male   — Adam-EMPH name — make   also   female   —

taà   juti   Eva
give   3sgf+name   Eve
'He (God) made the male. His name is (exactly) Adam. He made the female, too. He called her Eve (lit. he gave her name Eve)'

There is no equivalent for 'or' in Maipure (M1, p. 176). The only conjunctions are forms connecting clauses in subordinating relationships including *veià* 'as' (cf. the adposition *ve* 'like, as'; §3.9.2.2.2), *sapàni* 'because' (§3.9.2.2.5), *naà* 'if' (§3.9.2.2.6), *naumarì* 'therefore' (§3.9.2.2.7), *nicamà* 'although' (§3.9.2.2.8), and the switch-reference sensitive *uati* 'when' (§3.9.2.2.1).

3.7 Clausal and discourse particles

In the data, four particles occur which function at the clause level.

nuca 'negative' (see §3.8.1.1(vi) and §3.8.1.2).[106]

parè 'WH-question' (see §3.8.3.1).

marè 'neutral yes/no-question' (see §3.8.3.2(i)).

nicà 'tag-question' (see §3.8.3.2(ii)).

The following particles, attested by the Maipure text in M1 (see §4), function at the discourse level. They appear to link successive events without expressing the nature of the relationship between the events.

iquà 'then'.

(133) iquà   turà   juche
then   speak   3sgf+to
'Then he (the devil) spoke to her (Eve)'

niapà 'then'. (It occurs more frequently than *iquà* and is usually clause-initial.)

(134) niapà   Piòsu   merra-cà-u   niche
then   God   appear-CLOS-INTR   3pl+to
'Then God appeared to them (Adam and Eve)'

---

[106] Gilij in M1 (p. 175) mentions a further "negative particle", *pama*, but unfortunately we do not have any record of its usage in this or other sources attesting Maipure.

Two particles correlate with the sex of the speaker (§1.5).

nau ~ *no* 'male speech'.
mau ~ *mò* 'female speech'.

3.8 Types of clauses

Independent clauses, discussed in the following subsections, may be declarative (§3.8.1), imperative (§3.8.2), interrogative (§3.8.3), or of one of several other, minor types (§3.8.4). Some dependent (subordinate) clause types are treated in §3.9.2.

3.8.1 Declarative clauses

These may be verbed or verbless.

3.8.1.1 Verbed clauses

(i) Verbed clauses in our corpus show the following constituent orders: non-rigid AVO, non-rigid S_aV, and VS_o. Consider the following examples.

AVO:
(135) pare   navà   cavì
       Father see   us
       'The Father sees us'

(136) umèni   menià   canà
       snake   deceive me
       'The snake deceived me'

(137) Piòsu   puria-cà   ni-jucuà-re
       God   tell-CLOS   3pl-talk-POSS
       'God told their talk (i.e. spoke to them)'

S_aV:
(138) papujatàmi   nuca   camonèe ni-cania-cà-u
       long.time.ago   NEG   man   3pl-be-CLOS-INTR
       'A long time ago there were no men'

VS_o:
(139) aarrapì   chiè
       be.upright sun
       'The sun is upright (i.e. it is midday)'

(140) puite   nu-nichinì — nu-navà capì
       be.happy   1sg-heart   — 1sg-see you
       'I am glad to see you (sg.) (lit. my heart is happy — I see you)'[107]

___

[107] The usual way of expressing 'someone is glad to . . .' is by means of two sentences as in (140), the first of which, with the literal meaning of 'someone's heart is happy', corresponds to 'someone is glad' (M1,

(141) cavi   nu-paà
       hurt   1sg-rib
       'My rib aches'

(ii) Omission of the subject NP is very common in transitive and intransitive active clauses. The deleted constituent is recoverable from the context and the subject is cross-referenced by prefixes on the predicate. In the data we have, we may observe the absence of the subject NP under the following circumstances: (a) when the cross-referencing prefix in the predicate, together with prior mention in the discourse and/or the situational context make the identity of the subject obvious; (b) when the predicate is marked by *pa-* 'impersonal' (2, 3); and also in (c) imperative (98, 99, 102–104) and (d) relative clauses (81b, 105, 115, 116, 197).

(iii) Adpositional phrases headed by *-iche* 'to' function as indirect objects.[108]

(142) pi-taà   nuche   anteojo
       2sg-give   1sg+to   spyglass
       'Give me the spyglass'

(143) pauria   Pare   seca-chè   nuche
       other   Father write-3sgnf   1sg+to
       'Another Father wrote (the letter) to me' [*-seca* = 'paint, write']

If there is a nominal direct object and an indirect object, the word order in the clause is normally $(A)VO_{ind}O_{dir}$ (as in [142]). If the direct object is a personal pronoun, then the indirect object normally follows the other core arguments (as in [143]).

(iv) Several other types of verbal arguments occur including instrumentals, comitatives, and locatives of place and time. These arguments in the material we have are marked by appropriate adpositions (instrumentals, comitatives, locatives of place) or simply consist of adverbs (locatives of place and time).

(144) pi-capi-a   cavi   pi-naucare   ike
       2sg-hand-VBLZR   us   2sg-dwelling to
       'Take us to your dwelling'

Due to their infrequency, it is not possible to make generalizations about the positions of the various peripheral arguments in a clause. We may only note that adpositional phrases denoting local functions are usually clause-final, as in (67), (70), (117), (120), and (144).

(v) Adverbs of manner generally precede the verb they modify (111, 123, 145, 175, 189).

(145) cavì   nau-cà
       hard   paddle-CLOS
       'He paddles hard'

___

p. 197); cf. Piapoco (Klumpp 1990:116) *ka-sí:mái-ka na-wàwa* {ATTR-joy-POSITIVE.ASSERTION 3pl-heart} 'They are glad' and Paraujano (Caribbean branch of Maipuran; Patte 1989:76) *payawi: tein* {happy+NON-MASCULINE 1sg+heart} 'I am glad'.

[108] Recall that the adposition *-iche* also has a local usage, indicating motion towards some place or thing (§3.2).

(vi) Negation is expressed by means of the negator *nuca*. The clausal constituents that may be negated are (or include) the verb phrase (for clausal negation; see the following example) and the subject NP (see [138]). The negator always precedes these.

(146) nuca   nu-vichìna   nu-chieca-cà-u
       NEG   1sg-finish   1sg-stand.up-CLOS-INTR
       'I do not end up standing up'

3.8.1.2 Verbless clauses

In Maipure, as in many languages (not only Maipuran), there are a number of clause types that consist only of non-verbs. These include possessive clauses, with the probable constituent order adposition 'to' – possessed – possessor (this order is also found in other Northern Maipuran languages), and other types of clauses with the constituent order predicate – subject. Among these latter clauses, those denoting identity also contain a pronoun copy of the subject. This pleonastic element immediately precedes the subject of the clause, as we may observe in (147), (149), and (150).

(147) nuca   ua-pure{n}à   canì   mapita-chiò-ni
       NEG   1pl-relative   they   flee-NOMLZR-PL
       'The fugitives are not our relatives'

As the above example also shows, negative, non-possessive verbless clauses are marked with the negator *nuca*.

3.8.1.2.1 Identificational clauses

Identificational clauses may have an NP or an adpositional phrase headed by *ve* 'like, as' in their predicate slot (51, 148–150).

(148) pecanati   ani   canà
       cacique   son   I
       'I am the son of a cacique'

(149) aràu   minà-ni-mì   canì   urrùpu-nè   —   Pittinitì   canì
       world   inhabitant-PL-NOM.PAST they   star-PL   —   Pitinití   they
       'The stars were inhabitants (i.e. are "ex-inhabitants") of the world. (Now) they are "Pitinití" (supernatural creatures)'

(150) curìta   canì   Tamanàcu   —   nuca   neca   ussi   —   paccatià
       land.turtle   they   Tamanaco   —   NEG   3pl+eat   manioc   —   always

       neca   curita
       3pl+eat   land.turtle
       'The Tamanaco are land turtles. They do not eat manioc. They always eat land turtles'

3.8.1.2.2 Equational clauses

An NP with a predicative function also occurs in equational clauses, but apparently not with a pronoun copy of the nominal subject.

(151) Atàni-rri   iti
       Adam-EMPH   name
       'His name is (exactly) Adam'

3.8.1.2.3 Locative clauses

Verbless clauses can also have locative reference. In such clauses the predicate may be a locative adverb, as (156) suggests.

3.8.1.2.4 Possessive clauses

Although not directly documented in our corpus, it is highly probable that Maipure had possessive verbless clauses marked with the adposition 'to' consisting, as stated above, of 'to' – possessed – possessor.[109] Gilij in M1 (pp. 168 and 187) makes mention of "possessive pronouns" that precede nouns, but these are nothing but the adposition *-iche* 'to' with a cross-referencing prefix. In such circumstances, *-ìche* in all likelihood marks the possessive relationship in a possessive verbless clause and not in an NP, as a literal interpretation of Gilij would lead one to believe.[110]

3.8.2 Imperative clauses

Imperative clauses, receiving a special morphological marker only in the negative form (§3.3.1.4), seem to occur solely in the second person singular and plural. As in their declarative counterparts, the subject pronoun is normally omitted in imperative clauses.

3.8.3 Interrogative clauses

3.8.3.1 WH-questions

WH-questions are characterized by (a) a WH-word in initial position, (b) the particle *parè* that follows the WH-word when it is not the subject (152–154, 156, 157), and (c) the relative marker *-ri*, but only if the WH-word is the subject or object (152, 153, 155).[111]

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[109] With the possessor constituent optional and the adposition marked for possessor person, as in Yavitero, Baniva, and Baniwa of Içana for example; cf. Yavitero (Mosonyì 1987:70–71) *háta ju-jé haɟihani jú-ta ɟaɟinemi* {NEG 3sgf-to son 3sgf-DEM:DISTAL woman} 'That woman has no sons', *hi-jé hi-mijuɹe* {2sg-to 2sg-garden:POSS} 'You have your garden'; Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:245) *Ø-jue ʃupe-hẽ ʃiani-pe* {3sgnf-to many-PAUSAL child-PL} 'He has many children'; and Baniwa of Içana (Aikhenvald 1999:99) *nu-ʃia iʃinu* {1sg-to dog} 'I have a dog'.

[110] "Pronomi possessivi; *nuche* mio, *piche* tuo, *juche* suo, *uaìche*, *vechè*, o *uajùche* nostro, *niche* vostro e loro. Ma se questi possessivi si uniscono a qualche nome, si usano diminuti [*sic*]; e si scorge il segno possessivo dalle prime sillabe. Così v.g. non dicesi, *nuche anìtu*, *nuche ani* &c." (M1, p. 187; *-anitu* 'wife', *-ani* 'son, daughter').

[111] WH-words occur as elements filling a range of functions within the clause: subject, e.g. (155); object, e.g. (152); predicate, e.g. (154); locative argument , e.g. (157); and so on.

There are only three WH-words that occur in the data:

iti   'who, what'
uacàti   'where'
uacàu   'from where'

Examples of the use of these WH-words are:

(152)   nu-naunàri   —   iti   pare   pècca-ri   upiè
            1sg-friend   —   what   WH   2sg+eat-REL   tomorrow
            'My friend! What will you eat tomorrow?'

(153)   iti   pare   umà-ri
            what   WH   do-REL
            'What does he do?'

(154)   iti   pare   piti
            what   WH   2sg+name
            'What is your name?'

(155)   iti   purià-ri   pi-jucuà-re
            who   tell-REL   2sg-talk-POSS
            'Who told it to you (lit. told your talk)?'

(156)   uacàti   parè-pi   —   Atani
            where   WH-2sg   —   Adam
            'Where are you? Adam!'

(157)   uacàu   pare   nuà   camonèe
            from.where   WH   come   people
            'From where do the people come?'[112]

The clause in (153) is also used as a marker of 'why' questions.

(158)   ìti   pare   umà-ri   nuca   pi-ta-cà-u
            what   WH   do-REL   NEG   2sg-go-CLOS-INTR
            'Why do you not go?'

3.8.3.2 Yes/no-questions

(i) *Neutral question form.* Where there is no expected response, questions are expressed using the particle *marè*.

(159)   tucà   marè   jucuà
            bring   Y/N   news
            'Does it (the letter) bring any news?'

(160)   pi-navà   marè-na
            2sg-see   Y/N-1sg
            'Did you see me?'

(161)   navà   mare-pi
            see   Y/N-2sg
            'Did he see you?'

(ii) *Leading yes/no-questions.* When a question is posed expecting agreement, this is marked by the tag *nicà* (162, 163).

(162)   pi-nuà   nicà
            2sg-come   TAG
            'Did you come?' (greeting to someone who has just arrived)

3.8.4 Minor clause types

The following minor clause types occur in the corpus: greetings (163, 164); short, routine answers (165–170); expressive interjections (171, 172); and vocative expressions (173, 174).

(163)   pia nicà   {you TAG}   '(Is that) you?' (to person arriving)
(164)   bare nau   'Hello!' (arriving from a journey)
(165)   ja   'Yes'
(166)   saje   'Yes'
(167)   u u   'Yes'
(168)   u u ja   'Yes' (also used as reply to [163])
(169)   nucamà   'No'[113]
(170)   maonèe   'No, there is not'
(171)   avinì   'Oh, indeed?'
(172)   tamarè   'Who knows'
(173)   Atani   'Adam!'
(174)   nu-naunàri   'My (male) friend!'

3.8.5 Ellipsis

As was mentioned earlier, ellipsis occurs regularly in transitive and intransitive active clauses, when the subject NP is clear from the (non-)linguistic context.

3.8.6 Comparative constructions

Maipure forms comparative constructions by using the adposition *-ituà* 'from'.

(175)   cunè   pi-turà   pauria   camonèe   ituà
            sweetly   2sg-speak   other   people   from
            'You speak more sweetly than other people (lit. sweetly from other people)'

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[112] In this example, the placement of a non-subject constituent to front position seems to be accompanied by subject-verb inversion.

[113] Apparently built on the negator *nuca* and the verb stem *-ma* 'say'.

3.9 Complex sentences

3.9.1 Co-ordination

Maipure, in line with most Maipuran languages (see Aikhenvald 1999:101), possesses no conjunctions to co-ordinate independent clauses. Clauses are juxtaposed without any formal link, as in the following example.

(176) pi-mavà-chiacò maisuìni-chiacò pi-cania-cà-u pi-jatànapà-chiacò peca
       2sg-die-FUT₂   badly-FUT₂   2sg-be-CLOS-INTR 2sg-sweat-FUT₂   2sg+eat
       'You will die, you will live badly, you will sweat in order to eat'

Note that the adverb *niacà* 'also' could also be used (§3.6).

3.9.2 Subordination

The following analysis of subordinate clauses is undoubtedly incomplete, due to the scant number of complex sentences in the Maipure corpus. The attested subordinate clauses, however, function in various ways in complex sentences. There are complement (nominal) clauses or adjectival (relative) clauses. There are also adverbial clauses indicating time, similarity (simile clauses), purpose, cause, condition (protases of conditionals), result, concession, or the "undesirability" of events that might happen and should be avoided ("lest" clauses).

The clausal subordinators in the data, besides the six conjunctions listed in §3.6, include the relative marker *-ri* and four morphemes found with active verbs which might be affixes as well as clitics: *-uati* 'when' (§3.9.2.2.1), *-pucùmi* (the exact function is undetermined; §3.9.2.2.1), *-naunà* 'purposive' (§3.9.2.2.3), and *-macumà* 'irrealis' (§2.3.2.2.4).

3.9.2.1 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses, as in Yavitero and Baniva (cf. Mosonyi 1987:92–93 and Aikhenvald 1998:270), seem only to fill the functional slot of the object within their sentence. They do not receive any special marker.

(177) pi-taa   vekè   yacapi uaca   pacatià
       2sg-give 1pl+to today   1pl+eat always
       'Give us today the possibility to eat always'

(178) ... naumarì   pi-vià   ma-àrru-tenì capì
       ... therefore 2sg-know PRIV-dress-PRIV you
       '... this is why you know that you are naked'

(179) iti ica-ri   piche   ma-àrru-tenì capì
       who show-REL 2sg+to PRIV-dress-PRIV you
       'Who has shown you that you are naked?'

3.9.2.1.1 Direct quotations

Direct quotations, viz. nominal clauses as objects of verbs of speaking, are widely documented in the text in M1 (see §4). All quotations here are direct. There is no indirect speech. Every utterance

by one person is followed or interrupted by a quote formula which specifies the identity of the speaker or makes their identification possible (see [180], [181], [201], and [202]).

(180) ununà neca   ma   niche
       all   2pl+eat say 3pl+to
       ' "Eat everything," he (God) said to them (Adam and Eve)'

(181) nuca neca-chè   ma   nìche   ni-mavà-macùmà
       NEG   2pl+eat-3sgnf say 3pl+to 2pl-die-IRR
       ' "Don't eat it (the fruit)," he (God) said to them (Adam and Eve), "you might die" '

3.9.2.2 Adverbial clauses

3.9.2.2.1 Temporal clauses

Temporal subordinate clauses with an active predicate are marked by the suffix (or enclitic) *-uati* that follows, in one type, the relativizing enclitic *-ri* (182–184, 188) and, in another type, the morpheme *-pucùmi* (121).

(182) nu-mià-ri-uati   timachì ...
       1sg-kill-REL-when fish
       'When I fish (lit. when I kill some fish) . . .'

(183) neca-ri-uati   ni-mavà-chiacò
       2pl+eat-REL-when 2pl-die-FUT₂
       'When you eat it (the fruit), you will die'

In temporal clauses with *-ri*, but not apparently in those with *-pucùmi*, if the subject is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause, a further (switch-referencing) marker of subordination is used. This is the independent form (conjunction) *uati* which is placed in initial position (184, 188).

(184) uati   ju-nàva-ri-uati   umèni numacù iche tapunà Vasùri
       when.DS 3sgf-see-REL-when   snake mouth   to   enter   devil
       'When she (Eve) saw it (the fruit), the devil entered the mouth of a snake'

On the other hand, temporal clauses of the two types share, probably, an ordering determined by the contemporaneity or not of the action described with that of the main clause. In fact, it is probable but not certain (since that in [121] is the only subordinate clause with *-pucùmi* in our data) that temporal clauses, independently of the way in which they are formed, follow the main clause if the action described is prior to the action of the main clause (as happens in [121] and [188]) or precede the main clause if the action described takes place contemporaneously with the action of the main clause (as happens in [183] and [184]).[114]

Postposed subordinate clauses marked by *-uati* also seem to have an additional nuance: (at least) a causal connotation in the case of those with *-ri* (188), and (at least) a concessive connotation in the case of those with *-pucùmi* (121).

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[114] Cf. analogous ordering of temporal and main clauses in Baniva (Aikhenvald 1998:279–80).

3.9.2.2.2 Simile clauses

Simile clauses have an initial conjunction *veià* 'as' and the enclitic *-ri* 'relative'. They follow the main clause, as we may observe in (88) and (185).

(185) eno   icuti-ri   ve   ua-cania-ca-u   peni   iati   veià
       sky   in.BOUNDED-?REL[115] as   1pl-be-CLOS-INTR   earth on.FLAT as

       pi-jàsa-ri   vi-ina
       2sg-want-REL 1pl-with
       'As in heaven, we are on earth, as you want together with us'

3.9.2.2.3 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are optionally marked with *-naunà* 'purposive' (§3.3.1.4(i); compare [89] and [186]) and follow the main clause.

(186) pi-taà   nuche   anteojo   nu-navà   nicù   urrùpu
       2sg-give 1sg+to   spyglass   1sg-look   inside   star
       'Give me the spyglass to look at the stars'

(187) pi-jatànapà-chiacò   peca
       2sg-sweat-FUT₂   2sg+eat
       'You will sweat in order to eat'

3.9.2.2.4 "Lest" clauses

A "lest" subordinate clause describes a situation which is unpleasant or harmful; the main clause may refer to some precaution which should be taken (to try) to avoid it. Example (95) illustrates this. The main clause may also refer to some action or event which, if it did not occur, would give rise to the unpleasant or harmful consequences expressed by the "lest" clause. Example (188) is of the latter type.

The sole marker for "lest" is *-macumà* 'irrealis' (§3.3.1.4(iii)). "Lest" clauses may follow the main clause, as in (95), or they may be embedded within it and combined with another subordinate clause. (188) is an example of a three-clause sentence consisting of a main, a "lest", and a temporal clause, in which the temporal clause is subordinated to the "lest" one which is subordinated to the main one. (The two subordinate clauses are underlined.)

(188) Atani   niacà   ju-tàa-macumà[116]   ju-nichinì   anìtu   uati   nuca
       Adam   also   3sgf-give-IRR   3sgf-heart   son+mother   when.DS   NEG

       eca-rì-uati[117]   ,eca-chè
       eat-REL-when   eat-3sgnf
       'Adam, too, for fear that his wife would grieve (lit. would give her heart) because (after) he had not eaten it (the fruit), ate it'

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[115] See note 141.

[116] Read *ju-taà-macumà*.

[117] Read *èca-ri-uati*. The accent should be relocated on the verb stem as in (182) and (184).

3.9.2.2.5 Causal clauses

These clauses are marked by means of the initial conjunction *sapàni* 'because' and are apparently postposed to the main clause.

(189) cavì-chiacò   [pi]   pi-nupà   . . .   sapàni   pi-masavà   canà
       painfully-FUT₂   2sg-give.birth   because   2sg-disobey   mè
       'You will bear (children) with pain . . . because you have disobeyed me'

(190) . . .   sapàni   nu-taà   piche   pi-anìtu
               because   1sg-give   2sg+to   2sg-son+mother
       '. . . because I gave to you your wife'

3.9.2.2.6 Conditionals and counterfactuals

Conditional and counterfactual sentences have the same form. In both types, the conjunction *naà* 'if' introduces the protasis and *-macumà* 'irrealis' completes the apodosis (§3.3.1.4(iii)).

(191) naà   ni-turrùpa   Piòsu   jucuà-re   nuca   ni-mavà-macumà
       if   3pl-obey   God   word-POSS   NEG   3pl-die-IRR
       'If they had obeyed God's word, they would not have died'

(192) na[j]a   nuca   umà   cavì   nuca   ua-canià-macumà-u
       if   NEG   make   us   NEG   1pl-be-IRR-INTR
       'If he (God) had not made us, we would not exist (be)'

(193) naà   ni-vià   {P}iòsu   nuca   ni-mapìta-macùmà-u
       if   3pl-know   God   NEG   3pl-flee-IRR-INTR
       'If they knew God, they would not flee'

3.9.2.2.7 Result clauses

These are introduced by the conjunction *naumarì* 'therefore' and follow their main clause.

(194) juàni-chè   pieta   naumarì   nu-turà   niche   piàu
       be.near-3sgnf holiday   therefore   1sg-speak   2pl+to   before
       'It is near, the holiday, therefore I speak to you before it'

(195) nu-neca-cà-u   . . .   naumari   nu-meniqua-cà-u
       1sg-be.ashamed-CLOS-INTR   . . .   therefore   1sg-hide.oneself-CLOS-INTR
       'I am ashamed . . . for this I have hidden myself'

3.9.2.2.8 Concessive clauses

There is only one example of a clause of concession in the corpus. It uses the conjunction *nicamà* 'although' and precedes its main clause.

(196) ni-turà   nicamà   ua-jucuà-re   nuca   ua-pure{n}à   canì   mapita-chiò-ni   —
       3pl-speak   although   1pl-language-POSS   NEG   1pl-relative   they   flee-NOMLZR-PL   —

       pauria   canì
       be.another they
       'Although they speak our language, the fugitives are not our relatives. They are non-Maipure (lit. are others)'

3.9.2.3 Relative clauses

Maipure forms relative clauses by means of the relativizing enclitic *-ri*. There is no surface relative pronoun form as such (M1, p. 167).

Relative clauses usually modify a head noun, as shown in (81b), (105), and (197).

(197) Pare   ta-ri-ò[118]   ni-tàmi
       Father   come-REL-INTR   2pl/3pl-with
       'The Father who came with you/them'

Headless relative clauses also exist, as can be seen in (115) and (116).

3.10 Discourse phenomena

The absence of spontaneous narrative texts obviously means that it is not possible to make systematic observations about discourse phenomena in Maipure. However, by means of the text in M1, certain observations can be made about some discourse patterns, and these will be described briefly in the following subsections.

3.10.1 Ellipsis and anaphora

Judging from the text in M1 (and also from the fragments of conversation included in the *Saggio di storia americana*) it is possible to conclude that the Maipure discourse must have been highly elliptical (see §3.8.5).[119] In the examples that follow, we can observe that the absence of a full subject may function anaphorically.

(198) Piòsu   pin{à}   camonèe   uma-chi-rri   . . .   niapà   jasa   cavì   naumarì
       God   only   man   make-NOMLZR-EMPH   . . .   then   will   us   therefore

       uma   cavì   —   nuca   uma-macumà   ebacarì   camonèe   . . .
       make   us   —   NEG   make-IRR   many   man   . . .
       'Only God is the (true) creator of man. . . . Then he willed us, therefore he made us. He did not make many men. . . .'

(199) Eva   (ju-)ta-mà-u   ju-navà   naucare-tì   —   ju-nuà   ju-vì
       Eve   3sgf-go-PAST-INTR   3sgf-see   dwelling-NPOSS   —   3sgf-come   3sgf-be.in.front

       aa   tinacà   . . .   cunè-minè   ju-nàva-chè   —   uati   ju-nàva-ri-uati
       tree   fruit   . . .   sweetly-AUG   3sgf-see-3sgnf —   when.DS   3sgf-see-REL-when

       umèni   numacù   iche   tapunà   Vasùri   —   iquà   turà   juche
       snakc   mouth   to   enter   devil   —   then   speak   3sgf+to   —

       peca-chè   ma   juche   cunè-minè-chè   . . .
       2sg+eat-3sgnf say   3sgf+to   be.sweet-AUG-3sgnf . . .
       'Eve went to see the dwelling place. She came to be in front of the (tree) fruit . . . She looked at it with great relish. When she saw it, the devil entered the mouth of a snake. Then he spoke to her. "Eat it," he said to her, "it is very sweet" . . .'

3.10.2 Influence of pragmatic factors on clausal constituent order

The text in M1 also suggests that constituent order in clauses is sensitive to pragmatic factors in Maipure. It suggests, in particular, that contrastive and topical objects are introduced in preverbal position (see, respectively, [46] and [180]), that a contrastive transitive subject is postposed to the verb (188, 200), and that a focused or topicalized contrastive subject, in an equational verbless clause, is preposed, and not postposed, to the predicate (see [32] and its original Italian translation in appendix A).

(200) nuca   ni-mava-cà   ma   menia-càu   Vasùri   naumarì   jaca-chè   Eva
       NEG   2pl-die-CLOS   say   deceive-3sgf devil   therefore   3sgf-eat-3sgnf Eve
       ' "You will not die," the devil said, deceiving her (lit. (and) he deceived her), therefore Eva ate it'

Moreover, the same text indicates that the postverbal placement of a transitive subject is typical of quote margins for citations.

(201) umèni   menià   canà   ju-mà   Eva   naumarì   naca
       snake   deceive   me   3sgf-say   Eve   therefore   1sg+eat
       ' "The snake deceived me," Eve said, "therefore I ate" '

(202) cavì-chiacò   [pi]   pi-nupà   ma   juche   Piosu   sapani   pi-masavà   canà
       painfully-FUT₂ [pi]   2sg-give.birth   say   3sgf+to   God   because   2sg-disobey   me
       ' "You will bear (children) with pain," God said to her, "because you have disobeyed me" '

Furthermore, this text shows two instances in which an NP is introduced in a clause as an afterthought; see *pieta* in (194) and *aà tinacà sonirri-minè* in (203). ([204] is an analogous example from M4.)

(203) niapà   ica-chè   niche   aà   tinacà   sonirri-minè
       then   show-3sgnf   3pl+to   tree   fruit   beautiful-AUG
       'Then he (God) showed it to them (Adam and Eve), a very beautiful (tree) fruit'

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[118] The accent should be placed on the stem of the verb.

[119] A characteristic also reported regarding the discourse of Baniva, Baré, and Tariana (cf. Aikhenvald 1998:247, 1995:50, forthcoming:sec. 25.2).

(204) maisuìni-che   Pare   —   sènichi
       be.bad-3sgnf   Father —   be.stingy
       'He is bad, the Father. He is stingy'

3.10.3 Clefting

Maipure forms clefts by (a) extracting a nominal constituent from a clause, (b) predicating that constituent to a third person pronoun agreeing with it in number, and gender in the singular, and (c) modifying it with a relative clause formed, *mutatis mutandi* (see the enclitic personal pronoun in [206]), from the remainder of the original clause.

(205) Piòsu-chè   nu-purià-ri   inà   niche
       God-3sgnf   1sg-tell-REL   with   2pl+to
       'It is God about whom I speak to you (lit. it is God whom I tell to you with it (my talk))'

(206) Piòsu-chè   umà-ri-vi   nàumari[120]   ua-cania-cà-u
       God-3sgnf   make-REL-1pl   therefore   1pl-be-CLOS-INTR
       'It is God who made us, therefore we exist (are)'

Clefting appears to be employed to mark focus, as happens in many other languages.

3.10.4 Segmental markers of emphasis

A statement may be emphasized with a vocative—for example a proper noun or a relational term (e.g. *naunàri* 'friend (male)')—, as illustrated in (152) and (156).
  The presence of *-rri* seems to indicate a strong emphasis on certain constituents of the clause. Examples (124) and (126) show *-rri* on numerals and (32) and (151) on predicate NPs.

3.10.5 Discourse particles

The two recorded discourse particles, *iquà* and *niapà*, were presented in §3.7.

4 Texts

The format of this chapter is as follows: first are exact replicas of the texts in M1 (a biblical legend; cf. Genesis 2-3) and M2 (the Lord's Prayer); then follow their original Italian translations; and lastly, the same texts with morpheme boundaries marked and interlinear morpheme glosses, with a free English translation under the morphemic analysis.
  Misprints transparent in both texts and other irregularities (nouns that do not take the agreement appropriate for their gender) observed in the text in M1, signalled by notes in the replicas, have been corrected in the versions of the texts presented with the morphemic analysis.
  Having in all probability been transcribed by Gilij from one or more native speakers who translated them from Spanish, the two available Maipure texts perhaps also contain syntactic calques from Spanish. Unfortunately, due to our incomplete knowledge of the language, it is impossible to identify these with certainty.

4.1 Speech about the creation of man

RAGIONAMENTO IN MAIPURE SULLA CREAZIONE DELL'UOMO

Nupuriacà nijucuàre. Juànichè *pieta*; naumarì nuturà niche piàu. *Piòsuchè* nupuriàri inà niche. *Piòsuchè* umàri-vi: nàumari[121] uacaniacàu. Naja[122] nuca umà cavì, nuca uacaniàmacumàu. Nuca seccàcuni camonèe nupà manàni. *Piòsu* pinè[123] camonèe umachìrri. Papujatàmi nuca camonèe nicaniacàu. Niapà jasa cavì: naumarì uma cavì. Nuca umamacumà ebacarì camonèe: avanumè pinà umà. Umà cajarrachinì *Atàni-rri* iti. Umà niacà tiniochì: taà juti *Eva*. Nuà canì *Paraiso Terrestre* icutì. Sonirri-minè nicaniacàu iche. Naà niturrùpa *Piòsu* jucuàre, nuca nimavàmacumà. *Piòsu* puriacà nijucuàre: ununà neca, ma niche. Niapà icachè niche aà tinacà sonirri-minè. Nuca necachè, ma nìche: nimavàmacùmà. Necari uati, nimavà-chiacò. Naà pinà uàti turà. Tamàu niapà niituà. *Eva* tamàu[124] junavà naucaretì. Junuà juvì aa-tinacà; necamachè, *Piosu* mapucùmi uati. Cunè minè junàva-chè. Uati junàvari uati, umèni numacù-iche tapunà Vasuri. Iquà turà juche: pecachè, ma juche, cunè-minèchè. Nucamà, jumà juche[125] papujà *Eva*: Uamavà-macumà. Nuca nimavacà, ma, meniacàu Vasùri. Naumarì jacachè *Eva*. Niapà jutacàu jutùca purenà juccàpi-iche. Juicachè *Atani* juche.[126] *Atani* niacà, jutàa-macumà[127] junichinì anìtu, uati nuca ecarì uati,[128] ecachè. Niapà *Piòsu*, merracàu niche. Uacàti parè-pi, *Atani*, ma juche.[129] Nunecacàu, ma *Atani*; naumarì numeniquacàu:

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[121] A misprint for *naumarì*.
[122] A misprint for *naà*.
[123] A misprint for *pinà*.
[124] Wrong agreement of gender with *Eva*; an error for *jutamàu*.
[125] Wrong agreement of gender with *umèni* 'snake'; an error for *iche* (∅-*iche*).
[126] Wrong agreement of gender with *Atani*; an error for *iche*.
[127] See note 116.
[128] See note 117.
[129] Another case of wrong agreement of gender with the name *Atani*; an error for *iche*.

maàrrutenì canà, ma. Iti icari piche, maàrrutenì capì? ma juche[130] *Piòsu*: nuca piturrùpa nujucuàre, ma iche; naumarì pivià maàrrutenì capì: pimavà-chiacò; maisuìni chiacò picaniacàu; pijatànapà-chiacò peca, ma iche. Turà niacà *Eva* juche, vejacàu. Umèni menià canà, jumà *Eva*; naumarì naca. Cavì chiacò pi[131] pinupà, ma juche *Piosu*, sapàni pimasavà canà. Niapà uanacarè *Angeli* terruà canì *Paraiso*-iquà iche peni uaccaniàrio iatì. Naà niturrùpa *Piòsu* jucuàre pacatià nicàniacàu sonirri: nuca nimavà-macumà. Jacàpi uamavacà uajà[132] nitianimì, sapàni nuca nitturùpa *Piòsui-che*.[133]

TRADUZIONE LETTERALE

Vi parlo. Essa è vicina la festa; perciò parlo a voi prima. Egli è Dio di cui vi parlo. Egli è Dio, che fece noi: perciò ci siamo. Se non ci avesse fatto, non ci saremmo. Non sa l'uomo nascer da sé. Iddio solo è il Creatore dell'uomo. Anticamente non vi furono uomini. Dipoi ci volle: perciò ci fece. Non fece molti Uomini. Due soli ne fece. Fece il maschio, *Adamo* il suo nome. Fece ancora la donna. Le diede il suo nome *Eva*. Gli pose nel Paradiso terrestre. Benissimo stettero ivi. Se avessero risposto (ubbidito) alla parola di Dio, non sarebbero morti. Iddio parlò loro: mangiate tutto, disse loro. Dopo mostrò loro il frutto di un albero bellissimo. Non ne mangiate, disse loro, perché non muoiate. Quando ne mangerete, morrete. Così parlò. Andò poi da loro. (si allontanò da loro). Eva andò a vedere il paese.[134] S'incontrò col frutto dell'albero, *non ne mangiate*, di cui detto Iddio aveva. Gratissimo lo vide. Vedendolo, il Demonio entrò in bocca di una serpe. Indi parlolle: mangialo, le disse; è saporitissimo. Nò [*sic*] disse prima Eva; temo che muojamo. Non morrete, disse ingannandola il Demonio. Questo fece (perciò) che lo mangiò Eva. Dipoi andò a portare i parenti (altri simili frutti) nella sua mano. Gli mostrò ad Adamo. Adamo ancora temendo, che la sua moglie non desse il cuore, (non si contristasse)[135] non mangiandone, gli mangiò. Dopo Iddio apparve loro. Ove sei Adamo? gli disse. Mi vergogno, disse Adamo; per questo mi sono nascosto. Sono senza veste, disse. Chi ti ha mostrato, che sei senza veste, gli disse. Non hai ubbidito alla mia parola, gli disse; perciò sai, che sei senza veste. Morrai, starai male, suderai per mangiare, gli disse. Parlò ancora ad Eva, riprendendola. Il serpente ha ingannato me, disse Eva; perciò ho mangiato. Con dolore partorirai, le disse Iddio, in paga di avermi disubbidito. Dopo ordinò ad un angelo, che gli cacciasse dal Paradiso terrestre nella terra, nella quale stiamo. Se avessimo ubbidito a Dio, sempre sarebbero stati bene: non sarebber morti. Ora muojamo noi loro figliuoli in paga di aver essi disubbidito a Dio.

(1) nu-puria-cà   ni-jucuà-re
     1sg-tell-CLOS   2pl-talk-POSS
     'I tell your talk (i.e. I speak to you)'

(2) juàni-chè   pieta   naumarì   nu-turà   niche   piàu
     be.near-3sgnf holiday   therefore   1sg-speak   2pl+to   before
     'It is near, the holiday, therefore I speak to you before it'

(3) Piòsu-chè   nu-purià-ri   inà   niche
     God-3sgnf   1sg-tell-REL   with   2pl+to
     'It is God about whom I speak to you (lit. it is God whom I tell to you with it (my talk))'

(4) Piòsu-chè   umà-ri-vi   nàumari[136]   ua-cania-cà-u
     God-3sgnf   make-REL-1pl   therefore   1pl-be-CLOS-INTR
     'It is God who made us, therefore we exist (are)'

(5) na[j]a   nuca   umà   cavì   nuca   ua-canià-macumà-u
     if   NEG   make   us   NEG   1pl-be-IRR-INTR
     'If he had not made us, we would not exist (be)'

(6) nuca   seccàcuni   camonèe   nupà   manàni
     NEG   know.how.to   man   be.born   ?by.oneself
     'Man does not know how to be born by himself'

(7) Piòsu   pin{à}   camonèe   uma-chì-rri
     God   only   man   make-NOMLZR-EMPH
     'Only God is the (true) creator of man'

(8) papujatàmi   nuca   camonèe   ni-cania-cà-u
     long.time.ago   NEG   man   3pl-be-CLOS-INTR
     'A long time ago there were no men'

(9) niapà   jasa   cavì   naumarì   uma   cavì
     then   will   us   therefore   make   us
     'Then he willed us, therefore he made us'

(10) nuca   uma-macumà   ebacarì   camonèe   avanumè   pinà   umà
      NEG   make-IRR   many   man   two+CL:HUMAN   only   make
      'He did not make many men. He made only two (men)'

(11) umà   cajarrachinì   Atàni-rri   iti
      make   male   Adam-EMPH   name
      'He made the male. His name is (exactly) Adam'

(12) umà   niacà   tiniochì   taà   juti   Eva
      make   also   female   give   3sgf+name   Eva
      'He made the female, too. He called her Eva (lit. he gave her name Eva)'

(13) nuà   canì   Paraìso Terrestre   icutì
      put.down   them   Earthly Paradise   in.BOUNDED
      'He put them down into the Earthly Paradise'

(14) sonirri-minè   ni-cania-cà-u   iche
      well-AUG   3pl-be-CLOS-INTR   there
      'They found themselves to be very well there (lit. they were very well there)'

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[130] *Ut sup.* Evidently, the Maipure who translated the text completely forgot that only Eve is a woman!

[131] A false start of the following word.

[132] Read *uàja*.

[133] A misprint for *Piosu-iche*.

[134] Probably 'luogo della dimora' ('dwelling place'); cf. the Italian translation of the sentence *Eva ndàine pata jeneccè* from the Tamanaco version of the same text: 'Eva andò a vedere il paese (*luogo della loro dimora*)' (M1, pp. 211).

[135] An inexact translation of the clause *jutàa-macumà junichinì anìtu*; really, 'che la sua moglie desse il cuore, (si contristasse)'.

[136] Read *naumarì*, as indicated in note 120.

(15) naà   ni-turrùpa   Piòsu   jucuà-re   nuca   ni-mavà-macumà
      if   3pl-obey   God   word-POSS   NEG   3pl-die-IRR
      'If they had obeyed God's word, they would not have died'

(16) Piòsu   puria-cà   ni-jucuà-re   ununà   neca   ma   niche
      God   tell-CLOS   3pl-talk-POSS all   2pl+eat say   3pl+to
      'God told their talk (i.e. spoke to them). "Eat everything," he said to them'

(17) niapà   ica-chè   niche   aà   tinacà   sonirri-minè
      then   show-3sgnf 3pl+to   tree   fruit   beautiful-AUG
      'Then he showed it to them, a very beautiful (tree) fruit'

(18) nuca   neca-chè   ma   nìche   ni-mavà-macùmà
      NEG   2pl+eat-3sgnf say   3pl+to   2pl-die-IRR
      ' "Don't eat it," he said to them, "you might die" '

(19) neca-ri-uati   ni-mavà-chiacò
      2pl+eat-REL-when 2pl-die-FUT$_2$
      ' "When you eat it, you will die" '

(20) naà   pinà-uàti   turà   tà-ma-u   niapà   ni-ituà
      if   only-when   speak   go-PAST-INTR   then   3pl-from
      'Thus he spoke. Then he went away from them'

(21) Eva   (ju-)ta-mà-u   ju-navà   naucare-tì
      Eve   3sgf-go-PAST-INTR   3sgf-see   dwelling-NPOSS
      'Eve went to see the dwelling place'

(22) ju-nuà   ju-vì   aa   tinacà
      3sgf-come   3sgf-be.in.front tree   fruit
      'She came to be in front of the (tree) fruit'

(23) neca-ma(ca)-chè   Piosu   ma-pucùmi-uati   cunè-minè   ju-nàva-chè
      2pl+eat-PROH-3sgnf God   say-??-when   sweetly-AUG   3sgf-look-3sgnf
      'after God had said "Don't eat it". She looked at it with great relish'

(24) uati   ju-nàva-ri-uati   umèni   numacù   iche   tapunà   Vasùri
      when.DS   3sgf-see-REL-when   snake   mouth   to   enter   devil
      'When she saw it, the devil entered the mouth of a snake'

(25) iquà   turà   juche   peca-chè   ma   juche   cunè-minè-chè
      then   speak   3sgf+to 2sg+eat-3sgnf say   3sgf+to be.sweet-AUG-3sgnf
      'Then he spoke to her. "Eat it," he said to her, "it is very sweet" '

(26) nucamà   ju-mà   {i}che   papujà   Eva   ua-mavà-macumà
      no   3sgf-say   to   at.first Eva   1pl-die-IRR
      ' "No," Eve said to him at first, "we might die" '

(27) nuca   ni-mava-cà   ma   menia-càu   Vasùri
      NEG   2pl-die-CLOS   say   deceive-3sgf devil
      ' "You will not die," the devil said, deceiving her (lit. (and) he deceived her)'

(28) naumarì   jaca-chè   Eva   niapà   ju-ta-cà-u   ju-tùca
      therefore   3sgf+eat-3sgnf Eve   then   3sgf-go-CLOS-INTR   3sgf-bring
      'therefore Eve ate it. Then she went to bring'

(29) purenà   ju-ccàpi   iche   ju-ica-chè   Atani   {i}chc
      relative   3sgf-hand   to   3sgf-show-3sgnf   Adam   to
      'another (trec) fruit (lit. its relative) back in her hand. She showed it to Adam'

(30) Atani   niacà   ju-taà-macumà[137]   ju-nichinì   anitu
      Adam   also   3sgf-give-IRR   3sgf-heart   son+mother
      'Adam, too, for fear that his wife would grieve (lit. would give her heart)'

(31) uati   nuca   eca-rì-uati[138]   eca-chè
      when.DS   NEG   eat-REL-when   eat-3sgnf
      'because (after) he had not eaten it, ate it'

(32) niapà   Piòsu   merra-cà-u   niche   uacàti   parè-pi   Atani
      then   God   appear-CLOS-INTR   3pl+to   where   WH-2sg   Adam
      'Then God appeared to them. "Where are you? Adam!" '

(33) ma   {i}che   nu-neca-cà-u   ma   Atani   naunarì
      say   to   1sg-be.ashamed-CLOS-INTR say   Adam   therefore
      'he said to him. "I am ashamed," Adam said, "for this'

(34) nu-meniqua-cà-u   ma-àrru-tenì   canà   ma
      1sg-hide.oneself-CLOS-INTR   PRIV-dress-PRIV   I   say
      'I have hidden myself. I am naked," he said'

(35) iti   ica-ri   piche   ma-àrru-tenì   capì   ma   {i}che   Piòsu
      who   show-REL   2sg+to   PRIV-dress-PRIV   you   say   to   God
      ' "Who has shown you that you are nakcd?" God said to him'

(36) nuca   pi-turrùpa   nu-jucuà-re   ma   iche
      NEG   2sg-obey   1sg-word-POSS say   to
      ' "You have not obeyed my word," he said to him'

(37) naumarì   pi-vià   ma-àrru-tenì   capì
      therefore   2sg-know   PRIV-dress-PRIV   you
      ' "this is why you know that you are naked" '

(38) pi-mavà-chiacò   maisuìni-chiacò   pi-cania-cà-u   pi-jatànapà-chiacò
      2sg-die-FUT$_2$ badly-FUT$_2$ 2sg-be-CLOS-INTR   2sg-sweat-FUT$_2$
      ' "You will die, you will live badly, you will sweat'

(39) peca   ma   iche   turà   niacà   Eva   juche   veja-càu
      2sg+eat   say   to   speak   also   Eva   3sgf+to reproach-3sgf
      'in order to eat," he said to him. He spoke to Eve too, reproaching her'

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[137] See note 116.
[138] See note 117.

(40) umèni   menià   canà   ju-mà   Eva   naumarì   naca
      snake   deceive me   3sgf-say Eve   therefore 1sg+eat
      ' "The snake deceived me," Eve said, "therefore I ate" '

(41) cavì-chiacò   [pi] pi-nupà   ma   juche Piosu sapàni
      painfully-FUT₂   2sg-give.birth say 3sgf+to God   because
      ' "You will bear (children) with pain," God said to her, "because'

(42) pi-masavà   canà niapà uanacarè Angeli terruà   canì
      2sg-disobey me   then   order   angel   chase.out them
      'you have disobeyed me." Then he ordered an angel to chase them out'

(43) Paraiso   iquà iche peni   ua-ccanià-ri-o   iatì
      Paradise from to   earth 1pl-be-REL-INTR on.FLAT
      'of Paradise to the earth on which we live (are)'

(44) naà ni-turrùpa Piòsu jucùa-re   pacatià ni-cània-cà-u   sonirri
      if   3pl-obey   God   word-POSS   always   3pl-be-CLOS-INTR well
      'If they had obeyed God's word, they would always have been well'

(45) nuca ni-mavà-macumà jacàpi ua-mava-cà   uajà¹³⁹ ni-tianimì
      NEG   3pl-die-IRR   now   1pl-die-CLOS we   3pl-child
      'They would not have died. Now we, their children (sons), die'

(46) sapàni   nuca ni-tturùpa Piòsu[i] (i)che
      because NEG   3pl-obey   God   to
      'because they did not obey God'

4.2 The Lord's Prayer

Ua-kivacane eno-icutiri picaniau nivià pànica¹⁴⁰ pi-ti. Picapia cavi pinaucare-ike. Eno-icutiri¹⁴¹ ve uacaniacau peni-iati veià piajàsari¹⁴² vi-ina. Pitaa vekè yacapi uaca pacatià. Pikinanà cavi veià uakinanari-ina matiberi caniacau uaike. Nuca pivèka vasuri menià cavi. Pivèka vettuà maisuini.

Nostro-padre cielo-in tua-dimora,¹⁴³ essi-conoscano di grazia tuo-nome: tu-porti noi tua-abitazione a: cielo-in come, noi-stiamo terra-in come tu-vuoi noi-con. Tu-dà ci oggi noi-mangiamo sempre: tu-perdona noi, come noi-perdoniamo-ancora cattivo-che è a-noi: non tu-lasci diavolo inganni noi: tu-levi da-noi male.

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¹³⁹ Read *uàja*, as stated in note 132.

¹⁴⁰ A misprint for *panicà*.

¹⁴¹ Inexplicable use of the *-ri* 'relative' marker (§3.3.1.5). Perhaps this is an error attributable to Hervás y Panduro who received the text from Gilij, and noted that a preceding sequence *eno-icutiri* was (inaccurately) translated as 'cielo-in'. He could have believed that the form *icutiri* was the correct postposition to use with *eno* 'sky' (see §3.2).

¹⁴² A misprint for *pijàsari*.

¹⁴³ *eno-icutiri picaniau*, or better *eno icuti-ri pi-cania-ca-u* (with the "empty morph" *-cà*; see §3.3.1.1), is really a relative clause and should therefore be translated 'who art in heaven' ('che sei in cielo') rather than, literally, 'in heaven your dwelling'.

(1) ua-kivacane eno icuti-ri   pi-cania-(ca)-u   ni-vià-pànica¹⁴⁴
     1pl-father   sky in.BOUNDED-REL   2sg-be-CLOS-INTR   3pl-know-OPTATIVE
     'Our Father who art in heaven. May they know'

(2) piti   pi-capi-a   cavi pi-naucare   ike eno icuti-ri   ve
     2sg+name   2sg-hand-VBLZR   us   2sg-dwelling   to   sky in.BOUNDED-?REL as
     'your name. Take us to your dwelling. As in heaven'

(3) ua-cania-ca-u   peni iati veià   pi-[a]jàsa-ri   vi-ina
     1pl-be-CLOS-INTR   earth on.FLAT as   2sg-want-REL   1pl-with
     'we are on earth, as you want together with us'

(4) pi-taa   vekè yacapi uaca   pacatià pi-kinanà   cavi veià
     2sg-give 1pl+to today 1pl+eat always   2sg-forgive   us   as
     'Give us today the possibility to eat always. Forgive us, as'

(5) ua-kinana-ri-ina   matibe-ri   cania-ca-u   ua-ike   nuca pi-vèka
     1pl-forgive-REL-CONT   be.bad-REL   be-CLOS-INTR   1pl-to   NEG   2sg-let
     'we are forgiving those who are bad to us. Do not let'

(6) vasuri menià   cavi pi-vèka   vettuà   maisuini
     devil   deceive us   2sg-take.away   1pl+from   bad
     'the devil deceive us. Take the bad (things) away from us'

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¹⁴⁴ Read *-panicà*, as indicated in note 140.

Appendix A: Sources and original Italian translations for examples (1)–(206)

(1)	M1:189-190	Un buon Cristiano riprende il suo figlio
(2)	M1:189	Non si vede la luna
(3)	M1:189	Non si capisce la sua lingua
(4)	M9:217	Ventre [sic]
	M1:313	Ventre
(5)	M1:170	La mia veste – Veste
(6)	M2	Tua-abitazione
	M1:209	Paese
(7)	M1:170	La mia accetta – Accetta
(8)	M1:342	Casa [sic]
	M1:377	Casa
(9)	M1:170	Il mio campo – Campo
(10)	M1:170	La mia lingua – Lingua
(11)	M1:170	La mia gente – Gente
(12)	M1:199	Peperone
	M1:200	Peperone
(13)	M1:377	(translation not available)
	M1:318	Palo
(14)	M1:170	Il mio coltello – Coltello
(15)	M1:170	La mia carta – Carta
(16)	M3:213	Banana
	M3:310	Banana
(17)	M4:87	Piace [sic]
	M4:86	Medico
(18)	M4:160	L'ha dipinta (cioè l'ha scritta) un altro missionario
(19)	M1:209	Il serpente ha ingannato me, disse Eva
(20)	M1:209	Lo mangiò Eva
(21)	M1:15	L'anima del defunto Caravana
(22)	M1:15	Il Diavolo, o l'anima del fu Macàpu
(23)	M1:17	Dicesi, che le stelle siano state qui in terra: adesso sono immortali
(24)	M1:380	Ammogliato
(25)	M1:209	Sono senza veste
(26)	M2	Tu-levi da-noi male
(27)	M1:209	Il frutto di un albero bellissimo
(28)	M1:162	È buona
(29)	M1:209	Sarebbero stati bene
(30)	M1:209	Molti Uomini
(31)	M1:174	Solamente il Casave
(32)	M1:209	Iddio solo è creatore dell'uomo
(33)	M1:382	Qui
(34)	M1:382	Vicino
(35)	M4:333	Un uomo
(36)	M4:334	Due tartarughe
(37)	M4:334	Due pentole
(38)	M4:335	Tre giorni
(39)	M1:167	Darò ad ognuno un coltello
(40)	M1:380	Custodia da brev[iario]
(41)	M1:382	Casichessa
(42)	M4:209	Abitazioni de' Maipùri
(43)	M4:87	Il Piace de' Bianchi
(44)	M1:209	Le diede il suo nome Eva
(45)	M1:209	Ora muojamo noi loro figliuoli in paga di aver essi disubbidito a Dio
(46)	M1:209	Non fece molti Uomini. Due soli ne fece
(47)	M1:209	Dopo ordinò ad un Angelo, che gli cacciasse dal Paradiso terrestre nella terra, nella quale stiamo
(48)	M1:209	Parlò ancora ad Eva
(49)	M1:209	Mangialo, le disse
(50)	M1:209	Disse loro
(51)	M4:176	Sono come bestie, e perciò fuggiscono
(52)	M1:318	Con Pietro
(53)	M1:348	Vieni meco a mangiare casave/Vieni a pranzare
(54)	M2	. . . come tu-vuoi noi-con
(55)	M1:318	Con palo
(56)	M1:209	Andò poi da loro (si allontanò da loro)
(57)	M1:190	Da Roma, per Roma
(58)	M1:190	Sotto l'albero
(59)	M4:235	L'altra parte del mare
(60)	M1:209	Parlo a voi prima
(61)	M1:190	In terra
(62)	M1:171	In piazza
(63)	M1:190	Nella carta
(64)	M1:173	Nel monte
(65)	M1:311	Nella popolazione
(66)	M1:173	Nel prato
(67)	M1:209	Gli pose nel Paradiso Terrestre
(68)	M1:311	Nell'albero
(69)	M1:173	In Roma
(70)	M1:72	Sedere sulle ginocchia [sic]/Inginocchiarsi [sic]
(71)	M1:72	Ho mangiato
(72)	M4:154	Tu sei spilorcio
(73)	M1:302	Buono io
(74)	M4:176	[Sono] di un'altra razza
(75)	M4:170	Davvero? L'abbiamo detto per dire: ne siam già dimentichi
(76)	M1:72	Sedere [sic]
(77)	M1:209	Non morrete
(78)	M1:209	Vi parlo
(79)	M1:315	Finisco di alzarmi
(80)	M1:299	Andò
(81)(a)	M2	Noi-stiamo terra-in
(81)(b)	M4:235	La terra, in cui stiamo
(82)	M1:209	Non morrete, disse ingannandola il Demonio
(83)	M1:188	Io ho veduto, vidi
(84)	M1:209	Eva andò a vedere il paese
(85)	M1:188	Vedrò
(86)	M1:188	Vedrò
(87)	M4:15	Verrò d'inverno
(88)	M2	Tu-perdona noi, come noi-perdoniamo-ancora cattivo-che è a-noi
(89)	M1:188-189	Dammi lo specchio per guardar la mia faccia
(90)	M2	Essi-conoscano di-grazia tuo-nome
(91)	M1:188	Se fossi andato, o se andassi alla macchia, ti avrei portato, o ti porterei della legna
(92)	M1:209	Non fece molti Uomini
(93)	M4:124	Ti ammazzo
(94)	M1:209	Temo che muojamo
(95)	M1:209	Non ne mangiate . . . perché non muojate
(96)	M1:174	L'ho veduto forse
(97)	M1:194	A pescare (dicesi) è andato
(98)	M1:188	Non guardare
(99)	M1:342	Non amare
(100)	M1:187	Voi vedete, coloro veggono
(101)	M1:209	Mi vergogno
(102)	M1:188	Guardate
(103)	M2	Tu-perdona noi
(104)	M4:209	Abbiamo mangiato; mangia tu gli avanzi
(105)	M2	Nostro-padre cielo-in tua-dimora [sic]
(106)	M4:15	D'estate
(107)	M1:382	Dipoi
(108)	M1:383	Allora
(109)	M1:209	Così parlò
(110)	M1:209	È saporitissimo
(111)	M1:209	Gratissimo lo vide
(112)	M2	Non tu-lasci diavolo inganni noi
(113)	M1:209	Dopo ordinò ad un Angelo, che gli cacciasse dal Paradiso terrestre nella terra, nella quale stiamo
(114)	M1:315	Finisco di parlare, posso parlare
(115)	M2	Cattivo-che è a noi
(116)	M1:167	Chi è cattivo va all'Inferno
(117)	M4:176	Vogliono andare all'inferno
(118)	M4:149	Non sappiamo pescare
(119)	M1:209	Non sa l'uomo nascer da sé
(120)	M1:209	Dipoi andò a portarne i parenti (altri simili frutti) nella sua mano
(121)	M1:209	S'incontrò col frutto dell'albero, non ne mangiate, di cui detto Iddio aveva
(122)	M4:154	Egli è cattivo
(123)	M1:209	Starai male
(124)	M4:334	Una mano
(125)	M4:334	Se ne prende uno all'altra mano
(126)	M4:334	Due mani
(127)	M4:334	Si prende uno de' diti del piede
(128)	M4:334	Un Indiano
(129)	M7	Quaranta/Due uomini
(130)	M7	Sessanta/Tre uomini
(131)	M1:176	Io ancora
(132)	M1:209	Fece il maschio, Adamo il suo nome. Fece ancora la donna. Le diede il suo nome Eva
(133)	M1:209	Indi parlolle
(134)	M1:209	Dopo Iddio apparve loro

(135)   M1:299-   Il padre ci vede
        300
(136)   M1:209   Il serpente ha ingannato
                   me
(137)   M1:209   Iddio parlò loro
(138)   M1:209   Anticamente non vi furono
                   uomini
(139)   M1:376   Mezzogiorno/Sole dritto, o
                   perpendicolare
(140)   M1:197   Mi rallegro di vederti/Il
                   mio cuore allegro, ti miro
(141)   M1:381   Dolor di punta/Mi duole la
                   costola
(142)   M1:189   Dammi il cannocchiale
(143)   M4:160   L'ha dipinta (cioè l'ha scrit-
                   ta) un altro missionario
(144)   M2   Tu-porti noi tua-abitazione
                   a
(145)   M1:300   Remate [sic] forte
(146)   M1:315   Non finisco di alzarmi
(147)   M4:176   Non sono parenti nostri i
                   fuggitivi
(148)   M4:196   Io son figlio di regolo
(149)   M1:17   Dicesi, che le stelle siano
                   state qui in terra: adesso
                   sono immortali
(150)   M4:164   I *Tamanàchi* son *Morro-*
                   còi: non mangian *Casàve*:
                   sempre mangiano de' *Mor-*
                   rocòi
(151)   M1:209   *Adamo* il suo nome
(152)   M1:150   Amico [sic], che mangerai
                   tu domani?
(153)   M1:174   Qual cosa è quella, che fà
                   [sic]
(154)   M1:312   Quale è il tuo nome?
(155)   M4:139   Chi te l'ha detto?
(156)   M1:209   Ove sei Adamo?
(157)   M4:103   Da dove viene la gente?
(158)   M1:174   Qual cosa fà [sic], che non
                   vai
(159)   M4:160   Porta delle nuove?
(160)   M1:187   Mi hai veduto?
(161)   M1:187   Ti ha veduto?
(162)   M4:202   Sei venuto?
(163)   M4:201   Tu?
(164)   M4:202   Un saluto de' *Guipunàvi*
                   usato da' *Maipùri* per feste-
                   vole imitazione
(165)   M1:174   Sì
(166)   M1:174   Sì
(167)   M1:175   Sì
(168)   M1:175   Sì
(169)   M1:209   Nò [sic]
(170)   M4:137   Non v'è
(171)   M4:139   Davvero

(172)   M4:136   Chi sa
(173)   M1:209   Adamo
(174)   M1:150   Amico [sic]
(175)   M1:166   Tu parli più dolce degli
                   altri
(176)   M1:209   Morrai, starai male, sude-
                   rai per mangiare
(177)   M2   Tu-dà ci oggi noi-mangia-
                   mo sempre
(178)   M1:209   . . . perciò sai, che sei sen-
                   za veste
(179)   M1:209   Chi ti ha mostrato, che sei
                   senza veste?
(180)   M1:209   Mangiate tutto, disse loro
(181)   M1:209   Non ne mangiate, disse lo-
                   ro, perché non muojate
(182)   M1:188   Quando ammazzerò del pe-
                   sce
(183)   M1:209   Quando ne mangerete, mor-
                   rete
(184)   M1:209   Vedendolo, il Demonio en-
                   trò in bocca di una serpe
(185)   M2   Cielo-in come, noi-stiamo
                   terra-in come tu-vuoi noi-
                   con [sic]
(186)   M1:189   Dammi il cannocchiale per
                   guardare le stelle
(187)   M1:209   Suderai per mangiare
(188)   M1:209   Adamo ancora temendo,
                   che la sua moglie non
                   desse il cuore, (non si
                   contristasse) [sic] non
                   mangiandone, gli mangiò
(189)   M1:209   Con dolore partorirai . . .,
                   in paga di avermi disubbi-
                   dito
(190)   M4:246   In paga di averti dato mo-
                   glie
(191)   M1:209   Se avessero risposto (ubbi-
                   dito) alla parola di Dio,
                   non sarebbero morti
(192)   M1:209   Se non ci avesse fatto, non
                   ci saremmo
(193)   M4:176   Se conoscessero Dio, non
                   fuggirebbero
(194)   M1:209   Essa è vicina la festa; per-
                   ciò parlo a voi prima
(195)   M1:209   Mi vergogno . . ., per que-
                   sto mi sono nascosto
(196)   M4:176   Benché parlino il nostro
                   linguaggio, non sono pa-
                   renti nostri i fuggitivi, né
                   della medesima nazione,
                   ma di un'altra razza
(197)   M1:187   Il padre, il quale venne con
                   voi/con loro

(198)   M1:209   Iddio solo è creatore
                   dell'uomo. . . . Dipoi ci
                   volle: perciò ci fece. Non
                   fece molti Uomini.
(199)   M1:209   Eva andò a vedere il
                   paese. S'incontrò col frutto
                   dell'albero . . . Gratissimo
                   lo vide. Vedendolo, il De-
                   monio entrò in bocca di
                   una serpe. Indi parlolle:
                   mangialo, le disse; è sapo-
                   ritissimo
(200)   M1:209   Non morrete, disse ingan-
                   nandola il Demonio. Que-
                   sto fece (perciò) che lo man-
                   giò Eva
(201)   M1:209   Il serpente ha ingannato
                   me, disse Eva; perciò ho
                   mangiato
(202)   M1:209   Con dolore partorirai, le
                   disse Iddio, in paga di
                   avermi disubbidito
(203)   M1:209   Dopo mostrò loro il frutto
                   di un albero bellissimo
(204)   M4:154   Oh! [sic] Egli è cattivo
                   . . . è uno spilorcio
(205)   M2   Egli è Dio di cui vi parlo
(205)   M1:209   Egli è Dio, che fece noi:
                   perciò ci siamo

Appendix B: Classified word list

The majority of the words found in the surviving Maipure material have been included in the following list, the exceptions being forms with an uncertain or obscure meaning,[145] unassimilated Spanish loans,[146] and personal names.

The items of the list are arranged in groups as follows.

1 – 14	Pronouns			
15 – 284	Nouns	—	15 – 50	A–Nature
		—	51 – 90	B–Animals
		—	91 – 129	C–Plants
		—	130 – 163	D–Body
		—	164 – 181	E–Spirit
		—	182 – 207	F–Human classification
		—	208 – 225	G–Human relationships
		—	226 – 278	H–Man-made things
		—	279 – 284	I–Place names
285 – 302	Adjectives			
303 – 321	Numerals			
322 – 324	Other nominal modifiers			
325 – 334	Adpositions			
335 – 401	Verbs	—	335 – 390	A–Active verbs
		—	391 – 401	B–Stative verbs
402 – 434	Adverbs			
435 – 455	Conjunctions, particles, greetings, etc.			

Orthographic variants are included when an item is attested with more than a single orthographic realization. Nouns, inflected adpositions, and verbs are listed in their bare-stem form. For each active verb stem class membership (see §3.3.1.1) is indicated by a number in parentheses: (1) potentially-final active verb stem, (2) active verb stem that cannot occur word-finally and does not co-occur with the suffix -u 'intransitive', (3) active verb stem that cannot occur word-finally and requires the suffixation of -u.

The list also includes some idiomatic expressions whose meanings are not obvious. Nativized borrowings from Spanish are followed by the abbreviation (Sp.). The sources attesting the items of the word list are indicated through the abbreviations given in §1.2.

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[145] janà (125, 127), manàni (119), manànipinà (75), nipinuà (39), and pama (note 106).
[146] anteojo (186), cristiano (1), and Paraìso (Terrestre) (67, 113).

Pronouns   (see §3.1.1.1.1)

1.	I	nuja M1, nuya M5, M6, M8
2.	you	pìa M1, M2, M4, M5, M6, M8
3.	he	ìa M1, M5, M6, M8
4.	she	juja M1, yuya M5, M6, M8
5.	we	uaja M1, uaya M2, M5, M6, M8
6.	you, they	nia M1, M2, M5, M6, M8
7.	I, me	• canà M1, M4, M6, M8
		• -na M1, M6
8.	you	• capì M1, M6, M8
		• -pi M1, M4, M6
9.	he, him	• -chè M1, M4, -kè M2, M5, M6, M8, M9
		• Ø M1
10.	she, her	-càu M1, M5, M6, M8
11.	we, us	• cavì M1, M2, M6, M8
		• -vi M1, M2
12.	you, they, them	canì M1, M4, M6, M8
13.	that one (non-feminine)	naìa M1
14.	who, what	ìti M1, M4, M5

Nouns

A–Nature

15.	world	aràu M1
16.	earth, ground	peni M1, M2, M4, M6, M9
17.	mountain	japa M1, yapa M5
18.	stony place	chipa-manà M1 (chipa = 'stone') cf. # 39
19.	meadow	pèpuri M1
20.	(sown) field	-menène (non-possessed form: meniti) M1, M4, M6
21.	sky	eno M1, M2, M6, M9
22.	sun	• chiè M1, quie M9
		• kiepurig [sic] M10
23.	splendour of the sun	camotì M4
24.	moon	chejàpi M1, kejapi M9, cajiyapi M10
25.	star	urrùpu M1, M4, M9
26.	cloud	tamanà M1
27.	wind	chipucù M1, kipucù M9
28.	thunder	eno M1
29.	lightning	eno-imà M1, M9 cf. # 28
30.	rain	tia M1, M9 (also verb stem, 'rain') cf. # 372
31.	deluge	veni murràre M1 (veni = 'water') cf. # 34
32.	dew	urrùpu-saccarè M4 (lit. 'spit of the stars') cf. # 25, 155
33.	white frost	virti M4 (white frost is said to be present on Mount Chamaku in the Upper Manapiare area)
34.	water, river	ueni M1, M8, M9, veni M1, M3
35.	rapids	ucà M1, ucca M3
36.	small rapids	ucca matìsi mapàra canacapitirri M3 (ucca = 'rapids', matìsi = 'small', mapàra = 'Raudal de Atures' [sic]) cf. #

35, 283, 294

37.	lake	*cavià* M1, M3, M9
38.	sea	*paràna* M1, M4
39.	stone, rock	*chipa* M1, *kipa* M9
40.	sand, bank	*cainà* M1
41.	salt	• *ivi* M1 (originally referred to a mineral substance obtained from the ash of the fruit of a k.o. palm)
		• *sajo* (modern) M1 (Sp.: *sal*)
42.	iron	*sìparàri* M1
43.	gold	*cavìtta* M4
44.	fire	*catti* M1, M9
45.	day	*pècumi* M1, M4, M9
46.	night	*jatti* M1, M9, *yatti* M8
47.	month	*chejàpi* M1, *kejapi* M9 (= 'moon') cf. # 24
48.	summer, dry season, year	*camotì* M1, M4, M9 (= 'splendour of the sun') cf. # 23
49.	winter, rainy season	*juccumari* M4
50.	time	*juvì* M1

B–Animals

51.	(wild) animal	*queti* M1, M3, M4, *kueti* M9
52.	domestic animal	*pìa* M1, M3
53.	dog	*auri* M1
54.	jaguar	*quatichì* M1, *cuatikì* M5, M8
55.	cat	*misi* M1 (Sp.: *micho*)
56.	otter	*nevi* M3
57.	deer	*majàrro* M1
58.	peccary	*apià* M1, M3
59.	tapir	*chièma* M1
60.	armadillo	*see* M1, M3
61.	capybara	*chiàto* M3
62.	mouse	*urrùca* M1
63.	manatee	*manàti* M1, M3
64.	mico	*uavàri* M3
65.	howler monkey	*maravè* M3
66.	snake	*umèni* M1
67.	crocodile	*amanà* M1, M3
68.	iguana	*jamanàri* M3
69.	river turtle	*arràu* M1, M3, M4
70.	land turtle	*curìta* M3, M4
71.	bird	*siu* M1, M9
72.	k.o. bird	*raurràu* M3 (a k.o. bird of the size of a *guacharaca* said to be called *itotocò* in Tamanaco)
73.	parrot	*urèva* M3
74.	black vulture, urubu	*currùmu* M3
75.	pauxi, helmeted curassow	*suvità* M3
76.	guichichi (k.o. duck)	*vissisì* Gilij (1784a:103)
77.	fish	*timachì* M1, M4, *timakì* M6, M9
78.	cachama	*catàma* M3
79.	piranha	*umatì* M3

80.	ray	*inatùri* M3
81.	worm	*chinitì* M1
82.	bachaco (k.o. ant)	*cuchi* M1, M3, M8 (no general word for 'ant')
83.	chigoe	*mapachini* M3
84.	cockroach	*capaterruò* M3
85.	bee	*mapa-chivàcanè* M1 (lit. 'father of the honey') cf. # 86, 210
86.	honey	*mapa* M1, M3, M9
87.	wax	*mapa-icà* M1 (lit. 'faeces of the honey') cf. # 86, 154
88.	mosquito	*anìu* M3
89.	rodador (k.o. mosquito)	*mapìni* M3
90.	selvaje	*vasùri* M3 (an imaginary being similar to a man, but entirely covered in hair, with feet turned backwards, and superlatively libidinous) (= 'devil') cf. # 167

C–Plants

91.	tree, wood	*aà* M1, M6
92.	forest	*aàma* M1, M9 cf. # 91
93.	firewood	*catti* M1 (= 'fire') cf. # 44
94.	k.o. wood	*ana* M1 (a k.o. wood suitable for making mortars)
95.	papaya	*mapàja* M1, M3
96.	banana	*aràta* M1, M3 (Sp.: *plátano*; see note 33 in §1.6.1)
97.	cambur (k.o. banana)	*currùmu-aràte* M3 (lit. 'banana of the black vulture') cf. # 74, 96
98.	seje (k.o. palm)	*pupèrri* M3
99.	chonta (k.o. palm)	*uepi* M3
100.	moriche (k.o. palm)	*tèvita* M4
101.	k.o. palm	*cutì* M3 (a k.o. palm having a short trunk)
102.	k.o. palm	*sicutì* M3 (a k.o. palm similar to the *cutì*)
103.	moriche grove	*tèvita manà* M4 (*tèvita* = 'k.o. palm') cf. # 100
104.	jobo	*chilète* [sic] M3
105.	cashew	*urùi* M1, M3
106.	k.o. arboreal plant	*nupa* M3 (the berries are used in the preparation of an hallucinogenic snuff)
107.	chica	*chirràviri* M1, M3
108.	copaiba balsam	*curucài* M3, *curuchè* M3
109.	achiote	*majapà* M3
110.	yucca	*cattichì* M1
111.	manioc, cassava	*ussi* M1, M4, *usi* M1
112.	maize	*jomuchì* M1
113.	sugar cane	• *mapa panacarè* M1 (lit. 'planted honey') cf. # 86, 302
		• *mapa* M3 (= 'honey') cf. # 86
114.	chilli pepper	*aì* M1, M3
115.	k.o. capsicum	*vasùri ainè* M3 (a k.o. capsicum which bears yellow, horn-shaped fruit) (lit. 'devil's chilli pepper') cf. # 114, 167
116.	k.o. fruit-bearing plant	*marìa* M3 (the fruits are very similar to aubergines)
117.	k.o. fruit-bearing plant	*uarrè* M3 (the edible fruits are similar in size and taste to almonds)
118.	gourd	*aviamà* M1, M3
119.	watermelon	*patìa* M3 (Sp.: *patilla*)

120.	bean (generic)	*urrùta* M1
121.	k.o. bean	*urrùta curichinì* M3 (lit. 'black bean') cf. # 120, 288
122.	sweet potato	*chèi* M1
123.	yam	*aìu* M3
124.	mamure (k.o. liana)	*nepi* M3
125.	k.o. liana	possessed form: *-tirripè* M1
126.	grass	*catuvinì* M1
127.	leaf	*-ipanà* M1 (= 'head hair') cf. # 132
128.	flower	*-ivì* M1
129.	fruit	*-tinacà* M1

D–Body

130.	body	*-uanà* M1, M9, *-vàna* M1
131.	head	*-chibucù* M1, *-kibucù* M9
132.	head hair	*-ipanà* M1, M9 (= 'leaf') cf. # 127
133.	forehead	*-auchipà* M1, *-aukipà* M9
134.	space between the eyes, face	*-puricù* M1, M4, M9
135.	eye	*-purichì* M1, *-purikì* M9
136.	eyebrow	*-ppuriki-isù* M9 (lit. 'hair of the eye') cf. # 135, 151
137.	nose	*-chìrri* M1, *-kirri* M9
138.	ear	*-achinì* M1, *-akina* [*sic*] M8
139.	mouth	*-numacù* M1, M6, M9
140.	tooth	*-eti* M1, M9
141.	tongue	*-àre* M1, M9
142.	neck, throat	*-inù* M1, M9
143.	arm	*-anà* M1, M9
144.	hand	*-càpi* M1, M4, M7, M9, Gilij (1784*b*), *-ccàpi* M1
145.	finger	*-capi-virrupenà* M9, Gilij (1784*b*) (lit. 'crack of the hand') cf. # 144, 277
146.	heart	*-nichinì* M1, M9
147.	leg	*-cavà* M9, Gilij (1784*b*)
148.	foot, toe	*-chìi* M1, *-chi* M4, M9, *-ki* M7
149.	knee	*-cumàrachì* M1
150.	belly	*-urra* M1, M9, Gilij (1784*b*)
151.	body hair	*-isù* M9
152.	rib	*-paà* M1
153.	vein	*-tirripè* M1 (= 'k.o. liana') cf. # 125
154.	faeces	*-icà* M1
155.	spit	*-saccarè* M4
156.	catarrh, cold	*tùmutùmu* M1
157.	smallpox	*chirisì* M1
158.	French pox	*masuàri* M1
159.	fever	*puaquì* M1
160.	whooping cough	*maravè* M3 (= 'howler monkey', reference to loud gasps: "dissero a maraviglia in una sola voce gli effetti terribili di questo male, rassomigliandoli al tossire della scimia *Aràguato*" [M3, p. 69]) cf. # 65
161.	rectitis gangrenosa	*viso* M1 (Venezuelan Sp.: *bicho* 'small worm, rectitis

gangrenosa': "[i] *Tamanàchi*, e forse gli Orinochesi, dicono essere il *Viccio* un interno vermetto, il quale, rodendo dapprima la parte posteriore, faccia poi, inoltratosi nelle viscere, il guasto che abbiam descritto" [M4, p. 64])

162.	carate (k.o. skin disease)	*unè* M4
163.	death	• *mavàchitì* M1 (*-mavà* = 'die') cf. # 345
		• *upie* M8 (perhaps a mistake for 'tomorrow'; cf. # 411)

E–Spirit

164.	supreme being, God	*purrùna-minàri* M1, M9 (*-minàri* = 'master (male)') cf. # 218
165.	God	*piòsu* M1, *diòsu* [*sic*] M4 (Sp.: *Dios*)
166.	angel	*angeli* M1 (Sp.: *ángel*)
167.	devil	*vasùri* M1, M2, M9 (= "selvaje") cf. # 90
168.	paradise	*eno* M1 (= 'sky') cf. # 21
169.	hell	• *vasùri-ima* M1, M4 (*vasùri* = 'devil') cf. # 167
		• *catti* M1, M5 (= 'fire') cf. # 44
170.	Father, missionary	*pare* M1, M4 (Sp.: *Padre*)
171.	person saying one's prayers	*arresachiò* M1 (*-arresa* = 'say one's prayers') cf. # 375
172.	soul, ghost of one who died of natural causes (male)	*amitàminè* M1, M9
173.	ghost of one who died of natural causes	*-amitàmicanàmi* M1 cf. # 172
174.	ghost of one killed in war or in a private feud	*-vasùrenàmi* M1 (*vasùri* = 'devil') cf. # 167
175.	spirit	*mavànatenì* M1 (lit. 'one who has no body') cf. # 130
176.	a mythological being	*pittinitì* M1 (an immortal being that in times past inhabited the earth and is now a star)
177.	shaman, medicine man	*marirri* M1, M4 (see note 54 in §3.1.2.1)
178.	medicine	*-epena* M1
179.	a dance	*queti* M4 (= '(wild) animal') cf. # 51
180.	a song	*mariè marìje-jà* M4
181.	statuette of chica wood	*minaritì* M4 (statuette of chica wood whom the Maipure asked to reveal far and hidden things; lit., apparently, 'male master') cf. # 218

F–Human classification

182.	person, people	*camonèe* M1, M4, M5, M7
183.	man, male	*cajarrachinì* M1, *cajarakinì* M9 (perhaps, lit. 'one who has a penis'; see note 67 in §3.1.2.7.2)
184.	woman, female	*tiniochì* M1, *tiniokì* M5, M8, M9
185.	old man	*capèru* M1, M5
186.	old woman	*capecàu* M1, M5
187.	boy	*tumètechì* M1, *tumetekì* M5, M6
188.	girl	*tumautochì* M1, *tumautokì* M5, *tumòtochì* M1
189.	child (son)	*-tianìmi* M1 (translated as 'figliuoli')
190.	married man	*caanìtuchinì* M1, *caanìtucchinì* M1 (*-anìtu* = 'wife') cf. #

209

191.	married woman	*caànichivacanèchinì* M1 (*-ànichivacanè* = 'husband') cf. # 208
192.	cacique	*pecanàti* M1, M4, M6
193.	soldier	*soràro* M1 (Sp.: *soldado*)
194.	slave	*mero* M4
195.	fugitive	*mapitachiò* M4 (*-mapìta* = 'flee') cf. # 351
196.	Maipure	*maipùri* M1, M4
197.	Carib	*caripùna* M3
198.	Tamanaco	*tamanàcu* M4
199.	Otomaco	*otomàcu* M1, M6
200.	Spaniard, White person	*uavèmi* M1, M4
201.	Portuguese	*jaranàvi* M1
202.	rich person	*canuapèchinì* M4 (*nuapè* = 'belongings') cf. # 226
203.	traitor	*auca* M1
204.	feverish person	*mavachiò* M1 (*mavà* = 'die, be ill') cf. # 345
205.	compassionate man	*curricàtiuàri* M1, M5
206.	compassionate woman	*curricàtiuàu* M1, M5
207.	creator, one who makes	*umachì* M1 (*-umà* = 'make, do') cf. # 366

G–Human relationships

208.	husband	*-ànichivacanè* M1, *-àni chivacanè* M1, M4 (*-àni* = 'son', *-chivacanè* = 'father') cf. # 210, 214
209.	wife	*-anìtu* M1, M4, M5 (*-àni* = 'son', *-itu* = 'mother') cf. # 212, 214
210.	father	*-chivacanè* M1, *-kivacane* M2, M5 ('my father' = # 211)
211.	my father	*napài* M1, M5, *napè* M1, M5, M9
212.	mother	*-itu* M1, M5, M6, *-ittu* M1, M5 ('my mother' = # 213)
213.	my mother	*inà* M1, M6, M9
214.	son, daughter	*-àni* M1, M4, M5, M6
215.	brother	*-ajì* M1, *-ayì* M5
216.	sister	*-ajàu* M1, *-ayàu* M5
217.	relative	*-purenà* M1, M4
218.	master, inhabitant (male)	*-minàri* M1
219.	friend (male)	*-naunàri* M1, M4, M5, M8
220.	companion (male)	*-tètacanà* M1
221.	enemy	*-ipunì* M1
222.	holiday	*pieta* M1 (Sp.: *fiesta*)
223.	village	*pinàti* M1, M6
224.	name	*-iti* M1, M2
225.	language, word, talk, news	*jucuà* M1, M4

H–Man-made things

226.	belongings	*-nuapè* M1, M4
227.	house	*-panà* (non-possessed form: *paniti*) M1, M9
228.	dwelling (house, place)	*-naucarè* M1, M2, M4
229.	hut in which women give birth	*quita* M4

230.	door	*pènuma* M1, M8 (*-numacù* = 'mouth') cf. # 139
231.	chair	*sunuàtati* M1 (*-sunuà* = 'sit') cf. # 380
232.	dinner table	*ecatì caniatà* M1 (*ecatì* = 'food', *-canià* 'be, stay') cf. # 264, 337
233.	hammock	*amàca* M1, M4
234.	knife	*mànuri* M1, M5
235.	grater	*aja* M1, *aya* M5, M8
236.	sieve	*manàre* M3
237.	pot, plate	*tivàu* M1, M4
238.	jug	*veni-canianicù* M1 (*veni* = 'water', *-canià* 'be, stay', *nicù* 'inside') cf. # 34, 337, 422
239.	gourd cup for drinking	*caripa* M4
240.	mirror	*sapo* M1
241.	drum	*peneke* M8
242.	flute	*iara* M1
243.	paper, letter, book	*cujarùta* M1, M4 (Sp.: *carta*)
244.	book case	*cujarùta-caniànicù* M1 (*cujarùta* = 'book', *-canià* 'be, stay', *nicù* 'inside') cf. # 243, 337, 422
245.	breviary	*previàrio* M1 (Sp.: *breviario*)
246.	breviary case	*previàrio-arru* M1 (lit. 'dress of the breviaty') cf. # 245, 249
247.	candle	*cantirritì* M1 (Sp.: *candela*)
248.	candlestick	*cantirritì-caniànicù* M1 (*cantirritì* = 'candle', *-canià* 'be, stay', *nicù* 'inside') cf. # 247, 337, 422
249.	dress	*-arru* M1, M5, M6
250.	stick	*suvi* M1
251.	k.o. whip	*manacapì* M4
252.	arrow	*casaripi* M1
253.	lance	*uavèmi-suvinè* M1 (lit. 'Spaniards' stick') cf. # 200, 250
254.	harquebus	*eno* M1 (= 'thunder') cf. # 28
255.	fish hook	*icurià* M1
256.	axe	*jàva* M1, *yava* M5, M6, M8
257.	scissors	*pee* M1
258.	needle	*jucuèti* M1
259.	canoe	*-èpua* (non-possessed form: *quata*) M1, M6
260.	paddle	*nau* M1, M8 (also verb stem, 'paddle') cf. # 369
261.	road	*anèpu* M1, M9
262.	plaza	*ipinà* M1
263.	port	*anumà* M1
264.	food	*ecatì* M1 (*-èca* = 'eat') cf. # 348
265.	breakfast	*tevacà* M4
266.	salted meat	*saràru* M1
267.	manioc bread	*ussi* M1, M5, M8, *usi* M1 (= 'manioc plant') cf. # 111
268.	tobacco	*jema* M1, *yema* M5
269.	snuff-box	*jema caniànicù* M1 (*jema* = 'tobacco', *-canià* 'be, stay', *nicù* 'inside') cf. # 268, 337, 422
270.	chicha	• *ueni* M1 (= 'water') cf. # 34 • *tèvita* M4 (= 'moriche') cf. # 100
271.	yaraque (intoxicating drink)	*jaràchi* M4 (a drink obtained from roasted manioc fermented for a long time)
272.	k.o. drink	*jucùtapetì* M4 (a drink obtained from manioc mashed in water)

273.	oil extracted from turtle eggs	*timì* M3
274.	curare	*macuri* M4
275.	thing of the same kind (of another)	*-purenà* M1, M4, M7 (= 'relative') cf. # 217
276.	leftovers	*purenàmi* M4 cf. # 275
277.	crack	*-virrupenà* M9, Gilij (1784*b*)
278.	hole	*icu* M8

I-Place names

279.	Orinoco River	*parràva* M1
280.	Sipapo River	*tipàpu* M3
281.	Anaveni River	*anavèni* M1 ?cf. # 94
282.	Rio Branco	*veni marichinì* M3 (lit. 'white river') cf. # 34, 289
283.	Raudal de Atures	*mapàra* M3
284.	Raudal dc Maipures	*quittùna* M3

Adjectives

285.	other	*pàuria* M1, M4, M5, M7
286.	clear	• *acanàni* M1
		• *icunà* M9
287.	dark	• *catèni* M1
		• *icanani* M9 (perhaps a mistake for 'clear'; cf. # 286)
288.	black, blue	*curichinì* M1, M3 *curikini* M9, M8
289.	white	*marichinì* M1, M3 *marekini* [*sic*] M9
290.	yellow	*evachinì* M1
291.	red	*cajumèni* M1, M9
292.	tall, high	*aubarì* M1
293.	short, low	*cavasachì* M1
294.	small, little	*matìsi* M1, M3, M5
295.	sweet	*cunè* M1, M5, M9
296.	good	*sonicaperri* M1
297.	good, beautiful	*sonìrri* M1, M8
298.	bad	*matibe* M2
299.	bad, ugly	*maisuìni* M1
300.	irritable	*uavìrri* M1
301.	drunk	*poeta* M1
302.	planted	*panacarè* M1

Numerals

303.	one (human)	*papàita* M4, M7, *papèta* M4, M7, *popetas* [*sic*] M10
304.	one (animal)	*paviàta* M4, M7
305.	one (object)	*pachiàta* M1, M4, *pakiàta* M5, M7
306.	one (period of time)	*mapuchià* M4, *mapukìa* M7
307.	two (human)	*avanùme* M1, M4, M7, M8, *avanome* M10
308.	two (animals)	*avìnume* M4, M7

309.	two (objects)	• *achinumè* M4, *akinume* M7
		• *apèchi* [*sic*] M1, M8
310.	two (periods of time)	*apucùnumè* M4, M7
311.	three (human, animals, objects)	*apechivà* M4, *apekivà* M7
312.	three (periods of time)	*apèchi-pucu* M4
313.	three	*peyiveyi* M10
314.	four	• *apèapèchipachì* M4, *apekipaki* [*sic*] M7
		• *yalivac* [*sic*] M10
315.	five	• *papètaerri* [*sic*] *capìti* M4, M7 (lit. 'only one single hand') cf. # 144, 303
		• *yaviyi* M10
316.	six	*papeta janà pauria capìti purenà* M4, *papeta yanà pauria capiti purenà* M7 (*papeta* = 'one (human)', *pauria* = 'other', *-càpi* = 'hand', *-purenà* = 'thing of the same kind') cf. # 144, 217, 285, 303
317.	ten	*apanumèrri capìti* M4, M7 (lit. 'just two hands') cf. # 144, 307
318.	eleven	*papèta janà chiti purena* M4, *papeta yanà kiti purenà* M7 (*papèta* = 'one (human)', *-chi* 'foot, toe', *-purena* = 'thing of the same kind') cf. # 148, 217, 303
319.	twenty	*papèta camonèe* M4, M7 (lit. 'one man') cf. # 182, 303
320.	forty	*avanùme camonèe* M7 (lit. 'two men') cf. # 182, 307
321.	sixty	*apekivàè* [*sic*] *camonèe* M7 (lit. 'three men') cf. # 182, 311

Other nominal modifiers

322.	many	*ebacarì* M1
323.	all	*ununà* M1
324.	only	*pinà* M1, M6

Adpositions

325.	to (dative, directional)	*-ìche* M1, M4, *-ike* M2, M5, M6
326.	with (comitative)	• *-tàmi* M1
		• *-vichinì* M1
327.	with (comitative, instrumental)	*-inà* M1, M2
328.	from	*-ituà* M1, M5, *-ittuà* M2
329.	from, through	*-iquà* M1, *-ikuà* M6
330.	under	*-epitì* M1, M6
331.	beyond	*-ipuntà*
332.	before (reference to time)	*-piàu* M1
333.	in, on (see §3.2)	• *-iatì* M1, M2, M4, M6, M9
		• *-ipatì* M1, M6
		• *-ibatì* M1
		• *-icutì* M1, M2, M6
		• *-pachitì* M1, M7, *-pakìti* M6

- *-chi* M1, *-ki* M6
- *-inà* M1

334. like, as   *ve* M1, M2, M4

Verbs

A–Active verbs

335. answer, obey   *-turrùpa* (1) M1, *-tturùpa* M1
336. appear, show oneself   *-merra* (3) M1
337. be, stay   *-canià* (3) M1, M2, M4, M5, M6
338. be ashamed   *-neca* (3) M1
339. be stingy   *-sènichi* (1) M1, M4
340. bring, take
- *-tùca* (1) M1, M4
- *-capià* (1) M2 (*-càpi* = 'hand') cf. # 144
341. can, finish   *-vichìna* (1) M1, *-vikìna* M6
342. chase out   *-terruà* (1) M1
343. come   *-nuà* (1) M1, M4
344. deceive   *-menià* (1) M1, M2
345. die, be ill   *-mavà* (2) M1
346. dine, have dinner   *-èca* (1) *usi* M1 (lit. 'eat manioc') cf. # 267, 348
347. disobey   *-masavà* (1) M1
348. eat   *-èca* (1) M1, M2, M4, M8, *-ecca* M1, M5
349. enter   *-tapunà* (1) M1
350. fish   *-mià* (1) *timachì* M1, M4, M6 (lit. 'kill fish') cf. # 77, 360
351. flee   *-mapìta* (3) M4
352. forget   *-mejamè* (1) M4
353. forgive, be merciful   *-kinanà* (1) M2
354. give   *-taà* (1) M1, M2, M4, M5
355. give birth, be born   *-nupà* (1) M1
356. go   *-ta* (3) M1, M4, M5, M6, M8
357. grieve, become sad   *-taà* (1) *-nichinì* M1 ('give one's own heart') cf. # 146, 354
358. hear   *-càca* (1) M1
359. hide oneself   *-meniqua* (3) M1
360. kill, wound   *-mià* (1) M1, M4, M6
361. kneel   *-sunuà* (3) *-cumàrachì-inà* M1 (lit. 'sit on one's knees') cf. # 149, 333, 380
362. know (something), understand   *-vià* (1) M1, M2, M4
363. know how to   *-secàcuni* (1) M1, M6, *-seccàcuni* M1, M4
364. let   *-vèka* (1) M2
365. lie   *-puttàpe* (1) M4
366. make, do   *-umà* (1) M1
367. meet, be in front   *-vì* (1) M1
368. order, command, send   *-vanacarè* (1) M1, *-uanacarè* M1, M6
369. paddle   *-nau* (2) M1 (also noun stem, 'paddle') cf. # 260
370. paint, write   *-seca* (1) M4
371. place, put down   *-nuà* (1) M1
372. rain   *-tià* (1) M8 (also noun stem, 'rain') cf. # 30
373. reproach   *-vejà* (1) M1

374. say   *-ma* (1) M1, M4
375. say one's prayers   *-arresa* (2) M1 (Sp.: *rezar*)
376. see, look   *-navà* (1) M1, M5, M6, M8
377. shake (of earth)   *-teriria* (2) M4 (the word *teririacà*, said to be the equivalent of the Sp. *temblor*, seems not to be a noun but a verb; cf. the Piapoco stative verb *tiríri* 'thunder')
378. show   *-ica* (1) M1
379. be silent   *-nuviaco* (1) M8
380. sit   *-sunuà* (3) M1
381. sleep   *-ima* (2) M1, M8
382. smell   *-sisuà* (1) M4
383. speak, speak a language   *-turà* (1) M1, M4, M5, M6
384. stand up   *-chieca* (3) M1, *-kieca* M6
385. sweat   *-jatànapà* (1) M1
386. take away, remove, deliver *-vèka* (1) M2
387. take out   *-murruà* (1) M1, M6
388. tell   *-purià* (2) M1, M4
389. touch   *-paà* (1) M1, M6
390. want, will, love   *-jàsa* (1) M1, M2, M4, *-yasa* M6

B–Stative verbs

391. be another   *pàuria* M4 (= 'other') cf. # 285
392. be bad, be ugly   *maisuìni* M1, M5, M4 (= 'bad, ugly') cf. # 299
393. be bad   *matibe* M2 (= 'bad') cf. # 298
394. be bad smelling   *isi* M1
395. be sweet   *cunè* M1 (= 'sweet') cf. # 295
396. be good, be beautiful   *sonìrri* M1, M4, M5 (= 'good, beautiful') cf. # 297
397. be happy   *puite* M1
398. be near   *juàni* M1
399. be sweet smelling   *ivi* M1, M9
400. be upright   *aarrapì* M1
401. hurt   *cavì* M1

Adverbs

402. at first   *papujà* M1
403. long time ago   *papujatàmi* M1 cf. # 402
404. at that time   *uàti-rri-uàti* M1 (*uàti* = 'when') cf. # 440
405. afterwards   *pàuria uàti* M1 (*pàuria* = 'other', *uàti* = 'when') cf. # 285, 440
406. yesterday   *tècu* M1, M8
407. today, now   *jacàpi* M1, *yacapi* M2
408. right now   *jàcapi isi* M1 (*jàcapi* = 'today, now') cf. # 407
409. this morning   *irràvipè* M1
410. this evening   *tamàni* M1
411. tomorrow   *upiè* M1, M5
412. during the day, by day   *pècumi-epì* M1 (*pècumi* = 'day') cf. # 45
413. during the night, at night   *jatti-epì* M1 (*jatti* = 'night') cf. # 46
414. always   *pacatià* M1, M2, *paccatià* M4

415.	soon	*avinì* M1
416.	nearby	*juàni pinà* M1 (*juàni* = '(be) near', *pinà* = 'only') cf. # 324, 398
417.	far away	*icurichì* M1
418.	here	• *aaraàri* M1, *araàri* M1
		• *arè-pinà* M1 (*pinà* = 'only') cf. # 324
419.	there	• *achià* M1
		• *iche* M1 (= 'to (dative, directional)') cf. # 325
420.	up	*aniùche* M1, *aniuke* M8, M9
421.	down	*peni-iatì* M1, M9 (lit. 'on the ground') cf. # 16, 333
422.	inside	*nicù* M1, M6
423.	well	*sonìrri* M1 (= 'good, beautiful') cf. # 297
424.	badly	*maisuìni* M1 (= 'bad, ugly') cf. # 299
425.	sweetly, with relish	*cunè* M1, M5 (= 'sweet') cf. # 295
426.	slowly	*amàpi* M1
427.	for a long time, at length	*veve* M1, M4
428.	a lot	*ve napì* M1 (*ve* = 'like, as') cf. # 334
429.	painfully, hard, strongly	*cavì* M1 (= 'hurt') cf. # 401
430.	thus	*naà pinà uàti* M1 (*naà* = 'if', *pinà* = 'only') cf. # 324, 436
431.	also	*niacà* M1, M6
432.	where	*uacàti* M1, M6
433.	from where	*uacàu* M4
434.	why	*iti pare umàri* M1 (lit. 'what does he do?') cf. # 14, 366, 442

Conjunctions, particles, greetings, etc.

435.	because	*sapàni* M1, M4
436.	if	*naà* M1, M4, M6
437.	although	*nìcamà* M4
438.	therefore	*naumarì* M1, M4
439.	as	*veià* M2 cf. # 334
440.	when	*uati* M1 (switch-reference sensitive; see §3.9.2.2.1)
441.	not	*nuca* M1, M2, M4, M6
442.	WH-question particle	*parè* M1, M4, M5 (see §3.8.3.1)
443.	neutral yes/no-question particle	*marè* M4, M6 (see §3.8.3.2(i))
444.	tag-question particle	*nicà* M4 (see §3.8.3.2(ii))
445.	then	• *niapà* M1 (see §3.7)
		• *iquà* M1 (see §3.7)
446.	marker of male speech	*nau* M1, M5, *no* M1, M5 (see §1.5)
447.	marker of female speech	*mau* M1, M5, *mò* M1, M5 (see §1.5)
448.	Is that you? (greeting said to person arriving)	*pia nicà* M4 cf. # 2, 444
449.	Did you come? (greeting said to someone who has just arrived)	*pinuà nicà* M4 cf. # 343, 444
450.	hello (arriving from a journey)	*bare nau* M4
451.	yes	• *saje* M1, *saye* M6
		• *ja* M1, M6

		• *u u* M1, M6
		• *u u ja* M1, M4
452.	no	*nucamà* M1 (*nuca* = 'not') cf. # 441
453.	no, there is not	*maonèe* M4
454.	oh, indeed?	*avinì* M1, M4
455.	who knows	*tamarè* M4

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